

# STYLISTIC TRENDS IN MONUMENTAL PAINTING OF GREECE DURING THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES\*

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## INTRODUCTION

A survey which is intended to cover art historical material that is not only vast but also fragmentary and insufficiently published will necessarily be focused only on the most pertinent questions raised in reference to the scope of this paper.<sup>1</sup> A selection of works will be discussed briefly, in particular those that reflect directly or indirectly the main currents in the stylistic development of Byzantine monumental painting. In view of the fact that documentary evidence is restricted to very few monuments, stylistic criteria are assigned a special importance for dating purposes. The grouping of the works discussed in this report according to specific stylistic trends is in agreement with the general conclusions summarized by Professor Otto Demus in his discussion of stylistic phases of the mosaics of San Marco during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>2</sup> The material in Greece is, as will be shown, a further proof of these trends, which prevailed throughout the Byzantine Empire and beyond its frontiers.

A summary stylistic analysis of the main monumental decorations in Greece of the eleventh and twelfth centuries constitutes the principal object of this paper. Within this context, reference is also made to key monuments outside Greece. In

\* This article is an expanded version of a lecture delivered during the Symposium entitled "Venetian Mosaics and Their Byzantine Sources," held at Dumbarton Oaks in May 1978. A study of the eleventh- and twelfth-century mosaics in Greece has been included along with the initial study of the frescoes.

<sup>1</sup> I have not included long bibliographical notes on Byzantine monumental painting of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, since these can be found easily in general handbooks and specialized studies of past years. Regarding the material in Greece, two recent studies may be mentioned: K. M. Skawran, "The Development of Middle Byzantine Fresco Painting in Greece" (unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of South Africa, 1975) (hereafter Skawran, "Middle Byzantine Fresco Painting"); and C. Jolivet, "Les débuts de la peinture byzantine en Grèce," *RAAM*, 38 (1977), 48 ff.

I would like to acknowledge my debt to Dumbarton Oaks, which enabled me to complete the research for this paper during the spring semester of 1977-78. I want also to record my thankfulness to Professor Otto Demus, director of the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium of May 1978, whose encouraging advice helped me to face certain problems in my work. The presence of Professor Hugo Buchthal at Dumbarton Oaks during the same period and his scholarly and human interest in my work have been a gratifying experience for me. Finally, I am grateful to my friend and colleague, Efthalia Constantinides, with whom I shared pleasure and unavoidable peripeties in collecting a great deal of the material presented in this paper.

<sup>2</sup> For a summary of the lectures presented at the Symposium, see the report of Professor Demus, "Venetian Mosaics and Their Byzantine Sources," *DOP*, 33 (1979), 337 ff.

addition to the evidence for the chronology of some undated monumental cycles in Greece, the comparative material sheds light on the crucial question of the relationship of art among provincial centers and between them and the capital of the Empire. In view of the fact that the mosaics of San Marco and those in other churches of the lagoon are to be published soon, they are only briefly mentioned here. On the other hand, references to illustrated manuscripts are being made only insofar as these provide clear reflections of the stylistic development in monumental decorations in Greece. The importance of dated manuscripts for the chronology of undated monumental painting seems rarely to be particularly relevant for the extant material.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, in certain instances, illustrated manuscripts of Constantinopolitan origin which provide substantial evidence for detecting metropolitan affiliations of provincial monuments will be mentioned. Regarding icon painting of the Middle Byzantine period, its predominant hieratic character hardly lends itself for comparative purposes. Moreover, the total lack of documentary evidence regarding this art medium does not make it pertinent for the dating of monumental painting. Consequently, only some rare specimens of icon painting of the late Comnenian period which reflect the prevailing stylistic modes in contemporary decorations will be mentioned.

The use of an evocative terminology for the various styles of the eleventh and twelfth centuries has proved controversial among students of this period. Nevertheless, this constitutes a basic requirement for identification purposes. Most of the terms employed in this survey have either been coined in previous studies or were presented at the Symposium.

In order to envisage the cultural setting within which the monumental painting of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Greece was produced, it is worth recalling three facts which deeply affected the history of the area during the period under review. These, in chronological sequence, are: 1. the defeat of the Arabs in Crete by Nikephoros Phokas in 961, an event which created relative stability on the Aegean coast; 2. the defeat of the Bulgarians by Basil II in 1018 (the emperor's triumphal visit to Greece immediately afterward is considered to have marked a change in the central policy toward this province, which henceforward received considerable financial and political attention); and 3. the disastrous battle of Mantzikert in 1071, which meant the loss of vital areas in Asia Minor. It was inevitable that pragmatic reasons would then have dictated a shift of interest toward the provinces of the Empire further to the west. The loss of the Byzantine provinces in Italy, marked by the conquest of Bari by the Normans in 1071, had also concentrated the interests of the central government upon Greece.<sup>4</sup>

These three historical events appear to have had a positive impact on artistic life in Greece during the period under review, as may be shown by a study of the

<sup>3</sup> One case in point is represented by the well defined group of the Studios manuscripts which illustrate the so-called "style mignon." The Psalter of Theodore of 1063 in the British Museum (Add. 19.352) provides a good example of this style.

<sup>4</sup> In addition to the standard handbooks on the history of the period, see, for the eleventh century in particular, *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, 1966* (London, 1967); *TM*, 6 (1976); P. Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XI<sup>e</sup> siècle byzantin* (Paris, 1977). For the twelfth century many relevant studies were presented at the Fifteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Athens, 1976.



surviving monuments. On the other hand, we cannot estimate the losses of artistic material caused by the Norman invasions during this period.

### I. THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

In contrast to the high quality and considerable number of architectural enterprises in Greece during the major part of the Macedonian period, the surviving monumental painting is sparse and of a mediocre quality. This gap in the artistic output of this area can be complemented by the substantial vestiges of mosaics and frescoes mainly in Constantinople and Asia Minor. Particularly valuable evidence is, moreover, provided by a number of illustrated manuscripts which epitomize the high standards of the so-called Macedonian Renaissance. The Menologion of Basil II occupies a prominent place in this group. The earliest important dated decoration in Greece of the Macedonian period is that of the Panaghia ton Chalkeon of 1028 in Thessaloniki.

As attested by the dedicatory inscription, which also provides the date of 1028, the church of the Panaghia ton Chalkeon was erected by the imperial protospatharios Christophoros, catepano of the theme of Longovardia, i.e., southern Italy.<sup>5</sup> The frescoes of the church reveal a quite sophisticated style,<sup>6</sup> as shown, for instance, by the depiction of St. Gregory of Nyssa in the apse of the bema (fig. 1). The physiognomy of the bishop is gentle, almost melancholy, and reveals a lofty spirituality, conveyed particularly by the large, almond-shaped eyes. The modeling of the face is subtle with a balanced use of both painterly and linear elements. The slender proportions and the rigid frontality of the body, appropriately stressed by the disposition of the figure in the apse, increase its hieratic quality. Moreover, the folds of the draperies are sparse and vertical, thus emphasizing the dematerialized appearance of the body.

The depiction of Christ of The Last Judgment in the narthex (fig. 2) shows the same spirituality, a similar soft modeling of the face, and an even greater tendency toward idealism. The balance between a painterly and a linear approach is a typical characteristic of the treatment of the drapery in these frescoes. A more complex system of linear forms, especially between the knees of the Christ figure, enhances the ethereal rather than the three-dimensional quality of the body. This cascade of linear patterns on the draperies foreshadows what will be seen in a much more accentuated and slightly prosaic version a few years later in the frescoes of St. Sophia in Ohrid. Nevertheless, not all of the paintings in the Panaghia ton Chalkeon share the remarkable quality of the examples mentioned above. This is evident in a detail of The Presentation of Christ (fig. 3), which reveals less refined facial types and a coarser execution. Apart from this observation, all the figures in the church lack a monumental character. This feature is all the more apparent since most of

<sup>5</sup> For the church and its frescoes, see especially D. E. Evangelidis, 'Η Παναγία τῶν Χαλκῶν (Thessaloniki, 1954); K. Papadopoulos, *Die Wandmalereien des XI. Jahrhunderts in der Kirche Παναγία τῶν Χαλκῶν in Thessaloniki* (Graz-Cologne, 1966); V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin, 1967) (hereafter Lazarev, *Storia*), 157 f.; A. Tsitouridi, 'Η Παναγία τῶν Χαλκῶν (Thessaloniki, 1975); Skawran, "Middle Byzantine Fresco Painting," 108 ff., 271 ff.; Jolivet, *op. cit.*, 49 f.

<sup>6</sup> For a detailed stylistic analysis of the decoration, see Papadopoulos, *op. cit.*, 77 ff.

the paintings occupy the curved surfaces of the church, due, in all probability, to the influence of mosaic decoration. It may be noted, moreover, that both the depictions of saints and the scenic compositions are characterized by a static quality. The scenes, in particular, conform to simple compositional principles based on a symmetrical arrangement. A further feature of these frescoes is a restricted use of ornament.

The high artistic merits of the frescoes of the Panaghia ton Chalkeon, the identity of the donor, and the precise dating, along with the location of the church in a major Byzantine city, assign a key position to the decoration. The definition of its style is thus of fundamental importance for the study of monumental painting of the period. The established conventions of earlier scholarship, according to which all works of outstanding quality are necessarily related to Constantinople, have been critically reconsidered in recent studies.<sup>7</sup> Mention should be made in this context of certain mosaics of the ninth century in the patriarchal quarters of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, whose quality is not particularly outstanding.<sup>8</sup> The same applies to some illustrated manuscripts associated with the capital, as, for instance, the ninth-century monastic psalters. An essential prerequisite of the metropolitan style has been considered to be the soft, painterly modeling technique traditionally associated with Constantinopolitan practices harking back to Hellenistic models. This assumption may eventually be contradicted by the linear, abstract elements of certain mosaic decorations of the eleventh century, such as that of St. Sophia in Kiev, for which a metropolitan origin is beyond doubt.

A Constantinopolitan origin for the master painter of the frescoes of the Panaghia ton Chalkeon may be suggested by the fact that their donor was an imperial official. It is not possible, however, to define precisely the connection of the frescoes with contemporary Constantinopolitan monumental painting, due to the absence of comparative material in the capital. On the other hand, it seems difficult to accept that this high-quality work represented a *hapax* in a wealthy commercial city with a strong cultural tradition. Such a city could well afford numerous indigenous artists with commissions for monumental decorations both within its precincts and in the neighboring areas. This, however, does not provide an answer as to whether we are dealing with a metropolitan style directly imported by Constantinopolitan artists or a local interpretation of a current stylistic idiom, stemming always from the capital. A third possibility would be that this decoration is a characteristic product of Thessaloniki. However, a survey of the extant pictorial material from this period in Greece and elsewhere proves the difficulty of attempting to distinguish a particular aspect of artistic production in Thessaloniki during the eleventh century.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> See, for instance, the recent article by C. Mango, "Lo stile cosiddetto 'monastico' della pittura bizantina," *Habitat-Strutture-Territorio. Atti del Terzo Convegno Internazionale di Studio sulla Civiltà Rupestre Medioevale nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia (Taranto-Grottaglie, 1975)* (Galatina, 1978), 45 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 54, fig. 11. For these mosaics, see the recent study by R. Cormack and E. J. W. Hawkins, "The Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul: The Rooms above the Southwest Vestibule and Ramp," *DOP*, 31 (1977), 177 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Papadopoulos, *op. cit.*, 115 ff. Some problems relating to the role of Thessaloniki in the art of the eleventh century have been dealt with at the International Byzantine Congress at Ohrid. See, in particular, the reports by V. Lazarev, O. Demus, S. Pelekanidis, and S. Radojčić, in *Actes du XII<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, Ochride 1961, I* (Belgrade, 1963), 105 ff., 341 ff.

The decoration of the Panaghia ton Chalkeon represents the best artistic enterprise in the field of fresco painting in Greece during the eleventh century. Convincing comparisons with Constantinopolitan manuscripts of the beginning of the century, the Menologion of Basil II (Vat. gr. 1613) being the most outstanding, indicate the close adherence of the fresco cycle in Thessaloniki to metropolitan works. A Georgian manuscript of the year 1030 (K. Kekelidze Institute of Manuscripts, A. 648), illustrated by Constantinopolitan artists,<sup>10</sup> contains miniatures which also share stylistic similarities with the frescoes of the Panaghia ton Chalkeon. Soft painterly elements, in particular, are common to both works.

The wall paintings of the Panaghia ton Chalkeon may assist in the stylistic evaluation and the dating of several monumental decorations in Greece from the first half of the eleventh century. This applies, par excellence, to the most controversial decoration of this period in Greece, namely, the mosaics and frescoes of the monastery of Hosios Loukas.<sup>11</sup> This impressive architectural complex is related to the cult of the homonymous local saint. Its earliest building, namely, the church of the Panaghia, which remained undecorated until the thirteenth century, has been convincingly dated to the tenth century and attributed to the initiative of Krinites, strategos of the Helladic theme.<sup>12</sup> The widespread increase of the cult of the saint undoubtedly resulted in the erection of a second church of more impressive dimensions, the catholikon, dedicated to Hosios Loukas. The patronage of this ambitious undertaking is still unclear, due to the lack of documentation. On the basis of its grandiose scale, a consensus of opinion had attributed it to imperial initiative. This view has recently been elaborated upon by E. Stikas, who assigned it to the cultural activities of the Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos.<sup>13</sup> M. Chatzidakis was the first to challenge seriously the traditional view of an imperial patronage for Hosios Loukas by stressing the importance of the monastery within its local context. Hosios Loukas, which functioned as a "martyrion," was connected with numerous healing miracles performed by the patron saint. Chatzidakis proposed that the actual founder of the catholikon was a certain Philotheos,

<sup>10</sup> Š. Amiranašvili, *Gruzinskaja Miniatur* (Moscow, 1966), figs. 16–19. For a color plate, see R. Mepisashvili and V. Tsintsadze, *The Arts of Ancient Georgia* (London, 1979), 287.

<sup>11</sup> A selective bibliography includes: Ch. Diehl, *L'église et les mosaïques du couvent de Saint-Luc en Phocide* (Paris, 1889); E. Diez and O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece. Hosios Lucas and Daphni* (Cambridge, Mass., 1931), *passim*; G. Sotiriou, "Peintures murales byzantines du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle dans la crypte de Saint-Luc en Phocide," *Actes du III<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Etudes Byzantines* (Athens, 1932), 390ff.; A. Grabar and M. Chatzidakis, *Greece. Byzantine Mosaics*, UNESCO (New York, 1959), 16ff., pls. x–xiv; A. Grabar, *Byzance* (Paris, 1963), 107f.; M. Chatzidakis, "A propos de la date et du fondateur de Saint-Luc," *CahArch*, 19 (1969), 127ff.; E. Stikas, *Τὸ Οἰκοδομικὸν Χρονικὸν τῆς Μονῆς Ὁσίου Λουκά Φωκίδος* (Athens, 1970); Th. M. Chatzidakis, "Peintures murales de Saint-Luc en Phocide. Les chapelles occidentales" (unpublished doctoral thesis, Paris, 1971); *idem*, "Particularités iconographiques du décor peint des chapelles occidentales de Saint-Luc en Phocide," *CahArch*, 22 (1972), 89ff.; K. Kreidl-Papadopoulos, "Hosios Lukas," *RBK*, 3 (1973), 264ff.; Skawran, "Middle Byzantine Fresco Painting," 118ff., 268ff.; Jolivet, *op. cit.*, 52f., fig. 8; J. Koder and Fr. Hild, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, I, *Hellas und Thessalia* (Vienna, 1976), 205f.

<sup>12</sup> Stikas, *op. cit.*, 178.

<sup>13</sup> In a recent article and two monographs E. Stikas takes up the old tradition propagated by Cyriacos of Ancona, who during his visit to the monastery saw "in an old book" a mention of the foundation of the monastery by Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–55); therefore, Stikas places the erection of the catholikon in the middle of the century and dates the mosaics accordingly: *op. cit.*, 13ff.; *idem*, "Nouvelles observations sur la date de construction du catholicon et de l'église de la Vierge du monastère de Saint-Luc en Phocide," *Corsi Rav*, 19 (1972), 311ff.; and *idem*, *Ὁ κτίτωρ τοῦ καθολικοῦ τῆς Μονῆς Ὁσίου Λουκά* (Athens, 1975).

abbot of the monastery, and that the foundation took place in the year 1011.<sup>14</sup> This suggestion was based on documentary evidence which has not, so far, received wide acceptance.<sup>15</sup> These challenging views aroused new interest and gave fresh working hypotheses regarding the issue of the patronage of this important monastic establishment. Some documentary evidence provided by the typikon of a confraternity, which was founded in 1048 in Naupaktos in central Greece, near the monastery of Hosios Loukas, was recently associated with the founder and the date of the catholikon.<sup>16</sup> This document makes special mention of the abbot of the monastery,<sup>17</sup> apparently in office at the time of the foundation of the society in question. His name, Theodoros Leobachos, relates him to a prominent family of land-owners and government officials in nearby Thebes, one of the most prosperous cities in central Greece during this period. Leobachos' term in office may, therefore, date to the fifth or possibly to the fourth decade of the eleventh century. The hypothesis that this particular person was responsible for collecting impressive sums of money from the local upper classes for the catholikon of Hosios Loukas, attractive though it may be, needs further support from documentary evidence. It does suggest, nevertheless, an orientation toward local patrons for the realization of this ambitious undertaking. The origin of such an initiative can be understood if one takes into consideration the wide diffusion of the cult of St. Luke, as attested by the appearance of his portrait in such dispersed places as Thessaloniki, the Mani, southern Italy, and Cyprus.<sup>18</sup> A monumental monastic center for the saint's cult would ensure constant income and prestige. The impressive number of monks, including local saints, in the iconographic program also suggests local, provincial patronage.

Mosaics are the main feature of the decoration of the catholikon of Hosios Loukas, while fresco painting was reserved mainly for its three chapels, the gallery above the narthex, and the crypt below the church. The mosaics and frescoes are closely interrelated, from the point of view of both style and iconography. The most sophisticated mosaic style appears in the narthex.<sup>19</sup> A characteristic example is provided by the depiction of St. Paul (fig. 4). The head of the apostle is broad and the body is particularly short when compared to the figural style employed in the Panaghia ton Chalkeon. The face with its large, staring eyes becomes the

<sup>14</sup> See Chatzidakis, "A propos de la date," 127ff.; *idem*, "Précisions sur le fondateur de Saint-Luc," *CahArch*, 22 (1972), 87f.; *idem*, *Περὶ Μονῆς Ὁσίου Λουκά νεώτερα*, in *Ἑλληνικά*, 25 (1972), 298ff.

<sup>15</sup> H. Belting, "Byzantine Art Among Greeks and Latins in Southern Italy," *DOP*, 28 (1974), 15 note 49; C. Mango, "Les monuments de l'architecture du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle et leur signification historique et sociale," *TM*, 6 (1976), 364 note 48.

<sup>16</sup> See the new critical edition of the text by J. Nesbitt and J. Wiita, "A Confraternity of the Comnenian Era," *BZ*, 68 (1975), 360ff.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 365 line 42, 373f.

<sup>18</sup> In chronological order, the pictorial records of the saint's portrait appear in: 1. the earliest Exultet of Bari, usually dated to the eleventh century (G. Cavallo, *Rotoli di Exultet dell'Italia Meridionale* [Bari, 1973], pl. 10); 2. an unpublished fresco in the parecclesion of the Trinity at the monastery of St. Chrysostomos near Koutsoventis on Cyprus (the frescoes should be dated around the end of the eleventh century; see *infra*); 3. the fresco in the basilica of St. Demetrios in Thessaloniki, which is usually dated to the beginning of the twelfth century (G. and M. Sotiriou, *Ἡ βασιλικὴ τοῦ Ἀγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης* [Athens, 1952], 209, pl. 80); and 4. a fresco in the church of the Episkopi in the Mani (N. B. Drandakis, *Βυζαντινὰ τοιχογραφία τῆς Μέσας Μάνης* [Athens, 1964], 81). The paintings are dated by Drandakis to the late twelfth century, but may well be placed a little later.

<sup>19</sup> Diez and Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics*, 92f.

focal point of the figure. If this face lacks somewhat in idealism, it illustrates, on the other hand, the severe ethos inspired by the religious ideology of the period. The indifferent organic rendering of the body is apparent in this and other figures. Human proportions are intentionally distorted, and the contrapposto is handled so as to create the impression of a false plasticity. On the other hand, the lack of gradation and the arbitrary use of strips of shading to produce the transitions between light and dark areas point to the abstract, autonomous function of the drapery, which aims at flattening the body instead of modeling it. Compared to the figural style of the Panaghia ton Chalkeon, the treatment of the figures in the mosaics of Hosios Loukas exhibits a more linear and stylized quality.

The medallions in the narthex of Hosios Loukas reveal the most accomplished technique of the entire program, and provide an example of the decorative approach to the numerous cross vaults of the church. Particular mention should be made of the medallions of the Virgin, John the Baptist, and two archangels in the central cross vault. Busts of figures projected against the gold ground illustrate perfectly the hieratic, abstract style of the mosaics. The handling of the technique is masterly.

The mosaicists of Hosios Loukas possessed remarkable flexibility in adjusting human proportions to architectural surfaces, which may account for the variety of scale in the figures. Thus, the figures in *The Incredulity of Thomas* (fig. 6), although very similar to the depiction of St. Paul (fig. 4) in terms of facial types and modeling of the draperies, have bodies which are more elongated. This composition illustrates adequately the most ambitious rendering of scenic representations in the narthex. The imposing appearance of the figures is combined with a marked preference for symmetry, an element which constitutes one of the most conspicuous characteristics of the decoration in Hosios Loukas. A further feature is the primitive exploitation of rhythm as a unifying element in this and other compositions. In several other scenes, however, such as *The Crucifixion* (fig. 8), strictly static principles in the compositional approach have been applied. The overwhelming presence of the Crucifix, which conveys an iconlike quality, makes the Virgin and St. John appear to be afterthoughts. The figural elements of the scene preserve an autonomous character, a feature even more apparent in the distribution of the overall program. Apart from the rigid frontality of poses, the monotony of gestures, and the strict symmetry stressing the central axis, the lack of unity in the figural decoration is emphasized by the substantial geometric ornamental frames of the scenic compositions and of the portraits, as well as by the colors. Whereas the coloristic effects are intensely applied in the extensive ornamental decoration and in the secondary details, most of the figures in the scenes are rendered in light colors.

The mosaics of the narthex of Hosios Loukas reveal, as already mentioned, the more accomplished technique within the church, and exemplify the style of this ensemble. Their importance justifies the precedence given to the discussion of the decoration in this area. The mosaics in the sanctuary and the nave of the catholikon represent variations of the style of the narthex mosaics. Characteristic examples are provided by the medallions of the archangels in the cross vaults of

the transept, which represent rather poor reflections of the style of the corresponding impressive figures in the central vault of the narthex. A common feature in the figural style of both the narthex and the nave are the ecstatic eyes with the large, round pupils and the somewhat frightened expression. On the other hand, colors are generally more vivid in the nave when compared to the mosaics in the narthex. A more archaizing variant of the style of the narthex is illustrated by *The Pentecost* (fig. 9) in the domical vault of the bema. The faces of the apostles have a naive quality which is missing from the stark expression of the faces of the apostles in the narthex. Although in both cases the bodies are foreshortened and convey a similar impression of false plasticity, those in the bema reveal a less linear modeling and an undulating treatment of the hems of the draperies which is absent from the mosaics in the narthex. Another feature which distinguishes the figures in the *Pentecost* scene from those in the narthex is the manner in which the draperies are executed in curved bands of contrasting areas of light and dark, which anticipate the style of the mosaics of *Nea Moni* on Chios. In the narthex, on the other hand, the vertical strips of the draperies are treated in a more linear and fractured manner.

Apart from the somewhat inferior competence revealed in the mosaics of the sanctuary and the nave of *Hosios Loukas*, two particular factors make the work of the naos less satisfactory. One is the handling of the antiperspective conventions for the numerous curved surfaces in these areas; the second is the fragmented character of the upper parts of the architecture, especially accentuated by the presence of the galleries. Notwithstanding these shortcomings, much of the work executed in the bema and the naos is of very good quality, as, for instance, several hagiographic portraits, the Virgin in the conch of the apse, and *The Pentecost* in the vault of the bema. In fact, the two latter mosaics represent some of the most successful adaptations of figural decoration on the given architectural surfaces.

The difference in quality between the work in the narthex and that of the naos of *Hosios Loukas* does not imply a later date, as has been suggested occasionally. The special care given to the execution of many of the narthex mosaics may be attributed to the fact that they were to be viewed from a short distance. It would seem that the personal style of the master mosaicist can be best identified in this area of the church, where the artist could express himself in a freer and more "advanced" manner than in the sanctuary and naos proper, where the dogmatic restrictions might have been considerable. It is self-evident that, for such a large mosaic project, more than one qualified artist participated in the workshop. In this case, the presence of two artists is indisputable, but it is not possible at this stage to formulate a more detailed analysis of the process of the whole mosaic work.

Of the *Hosios Loukas* frescoes, only the principal units in the two western chapels and in the crypt will be discussed.<sup>20</sup> Among the wall paintings of the *catholikon*, those in the northwest chapel are of a very high quality. The availability of continuous vertical surfaces, together with the flexibility of the technique, lent

<sup>20</sup> Two other important groups of frescoes are found in the northeast chapel of the *catholikon*, which was specifically connected with the cult of St. Luke (cf. Chatzidakis, "A propos de la date," 131 ff.), and in the gallery above the narthex.

itself favorably to this remarkable achievement. On the northern part of the arch dividing the chapel into two compartments an archangel (fig. 10) is rendered in the same figural style as the mosaics of the narthex. The soft modeling of the face recalls the frescoes of the Panaghia ton Chalkeon (fig. 3). The figure of St. Peter in *The Transfiguration* (fig. 14), on the east wall, is represented in a free, unconventional posture. The sweeping movement, a more organic rendering of the body, and a better feeling for color gradations are the prevailing characteristics of this figure. It appears that these frescoes are roughly contemporary with the mosaics. They were in all probability produced by the master painter of the mosaics.

The wall paintings in the southwest chapel do not share the same high standards of the frescoes in the previous compartment of the catholikon. The poses and iconographic details, the uniform ochre ground, and the elaborate ornamental frames of the figures are direct imitations of the mosaics. This approach has affected even the technique, as is shown by the use of broad areas of flat colors. The portrait of St. Bacchos (fig. 12) on the north wall illustrates the dry quality and two-dimensional aspect of these frescoes. Also noticeable is the somewhat empty expression of the face. However, not all of the frescoes in this chapel share the same artistic treatment. The Virgin Hodegetria in the niche on the east wall (fig. 11) reveals greater monumentality, a more hieratic approach, and a better handling of the fresco technique. The use of fresco painting in the two chapels, which was dictated by economic factors, is aesthetically justified by the complete separation of these spatial units from the main body of the church.

The frescoes of the crypt of Hosios Loukas represent an ambitious undertaking in this medium due to the unusually extensive space involved. These paintings share even more striking iconographic and stylistic affinities with the mosaics, especially with those of the narthex. There is considerable overlapping both in the choice of subject matter and in the iconographic features of the individual themes. The more impressive work in the crypt, revealing remarkable expressive qualities and a firm drawing, is represented by the majority of the Christological scenes, among which is *The Incredulity of Thomas* (fig. 5). This scene provides an example of an abstract handling, revealed by an emphasis on stark facial features, an elementary modeling, and an expressive, ornamental effect produced by the sharp contrasts of light and dark areas. A comparison of the same scene in the crypt and the narthex (fig. 6) shows similar compositional principles, an identity of facial types, and a related approach in the use of conventional lines for the articulation of the draperies. The figures in the crypt are taller and rely more heavily than those of the mosaic on broad surfaces of bright highlights, an element which imparts to them a more dramatic quality.

The Crucifixion in the crypt of Hosios Loukas (fig. 7) also shares some striking iconographic and stylistic features with the corresponding scene in the narthex (fig. 8). The dependence of the figure of John on its counterpart in mosaic is particularly clear, but the different handling of the painted surface is also apparent. The modeling in the fresco is more painterly, and the landscape setting has contributed to the integration of the figural elements of the composition. Apart from the close stylistic affinity of the frescoes in the crypt to the mosaics, especially

those in the narthex, numerous iconographic and stylistic features in the paintings of the crypt are similar to those in the frescoes of the northwest chapel. This indicates the chronological interrelation of both mosaics and frescoes. It also leads to the conclusion that both mosaics and frescoes were part of the same enterprise.

Of the monumental paintings preserved in Greece from this period, the frescoes of the Panaghia ton Chalkeon may provide indications for the dating of the mosaics and frescoes of Hosios Loukas. They also afford us with a point of reference for stylistic criticism. The soft modeling technique of the frescoes of the Panaghia ton Chalkeon is shared, to a somewhat lesser extent, by the frescoes of the northwest chapel of Hosios Loukas. The attenuated human forms and a somewhat abstract handling of the drapery, which deemphasizes the organic structure of the body, are characteristic of both monuments. The hieratic character of the figures is also revealed in the faces by their predominant expression of spirituality. Such common elements may indicate that the two monuments belong to the same artistic climate. The more pronounced abstract handling of the figural style in both the mosaics and frescoes of Hosios Loukas may point to a somewhat later date.

A dating in the fourth decade of the eleventh century for the mosaics of Hosios Loukas is also implied by their similarities to a major artistic project of the period, located outside the frontiers of the Byzantine Empire, namely, the mosaics of St. Sophia in Kiev, which have been securely dated to the following decade.<sup>21</sup> The two mosaic decorations share in many instances similar facial types with a predominantly static quality. The rigidity of postures and a false plasticity, conveyed by an abstract handling of the drapery, constitute further elements of affinity between the two monuments. Nevertheless, certain features, such as a more animated quality in the facial expressions and movement of some figures, a special interest in coloristic effects, and the extensive use of chrysography, relate the Kiev mosaics to another monument of a more advanced style, the Nea Moni on Chios. If a date in the fourth decade of the eleventh century could be accepted for the mosaics and frescoes of Hosios Loukas, this assumption would agree with the chronological data provided by the abovementioned typikon of the secular confraternity of Naupaktos. It is necessary to define better the Hosios Loukas style in relation to the general stylistic developments of the period, in order to detect its origin. As mentioned above, a related style is to be found in the Panaghia ton Chalkeon, the centrally located monument connected with the initiative of a high imperial official. The Hosios Loukas style may be considered a less refined and less idealized version than that of the Chalkeon church. A departure from the painterly means of modeling the figures has resulted in a more abstract, unclassical approach. On the other hand, this particular stylistic idiom has a clearer identity in terms of its basic characteristics.

A survey of the extant art-historical material from the period under review, both in Greece and elsewhere, shows that the linear hieratic style was far from being the idiom of a particular provincial workshop. Two further fresco cycles in Greece

<sup>21</sup> V. N. Lazarev, *Mosaiki Sofii Kievskoj* (Moscow, 1960), 74, 84, 92, 101; *idem*, *Storia*, 153; H. Logvin, *Kiev's Hagia Sophia* (Kiev, 1971), in which a large number of color illustrations is included.



are among those which exemplify this trend. One is provided by the first layer of paintings in the apse and the dome of the catholikon of Myriocephala in Crete. They can be dated to the first quarter of the eleventh century on the basis of documentary evidence. The monastery was founded by a well-known local saint, John Xenos, before 1027, as is attested by his will.<sup>22</sup> The date of the foundation of the monastery was probably included in a painted dedicatory inscription, which is now partly effaced.<sup>23</sup> The rendering of the figures at Myriocephala, as shown, for instance, by the depictions of the Virgin (fig. 16), as well as Moses and an archangel (fig. 17), in the dome, has a flat, linear quality. The faces are characterized by a somewhat empty expression. These frescoes represent a provincial variation of the spiritualized style as reflected in the paintings of the Panaghia ton Chalkeon.

The frescoes of the Chalkeon church and of Myriocephala facilitate the dating of the second significant group of wall paintings, from the Episkopi of Evrytania, now in the Byzantine Museum.<sup>24</sup> The fact that this provincial monument had served as the episcopal church of the area may explain the high quality of all of its layers of frescoes. The style of the second layer of paintings, which are relevant to our period, is exemplified by the depiction of St. Theodoti (fig. 13). The long face with regular features and an intense spirituality recalls, in particular, many faces in the frescoes of the Panaghia ton Chalkeon. The same is true of the modeling technique, which has, however, a more forceful quality and displays an ample use of green shading. The austere expression conveyed by the large, staring eyes, moreover, relates the figure to the mosaics and frescoes of the monastery of Hosios Loukas.

The persistence of the linear hieratic style raises the question of its origin. Despite the fact that it lends itself easily to crude, even primitive works, as, for instance, those in numerous fresco decorations in the Mani, Cappadocia, or southern Italy,<sup>25</sup> its main characteristics can be explained only in terms of metropolitan developments. This view tends to be widely accepted now,<sup>26</sup> and the older definitions, such as "oriental," "popular," or "monastic," are being gradually abandoned. The close stylistic affinities of the Hosios Loukas mosaics with those of St. Sophia in Kiev and the undisputed Constantinopolitan affiliations of the latter

<sup>22</sup> The documentary evidence on the monastery of Myriocephala—namely, a *typikon-diatheke* composed by John Xenos, most probably in 1027, and the *vita* of the saint—as well as the frescoes of the catholikon are presented in G. B. Antourakis, *Αἱ Μοναὶ Μυριοκεφάλων καὶ Ρουστίκων Κρήτης μετὰ τῶν παρεκκλησίων αὐτῶν* (Athens, 1977), 31 ff. For illustrations of the earlier layer of frescoes, see *ibid.*, pls. 13b, 14, 15, 18–24. For the earlier frescoes of the church, see also E. Borboudakis, in *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, 28, 2, 2 (1973), *Chronica*, 604, fig. 577c; Jolivet, *op. cit.* (note 1 *supra*), 58.

<sup>23</sup> Antourakis, *op. cit.*, pl. 31.

<sup>24</sup> The church lies presently at the bottom of an artificial lake; the frescoes, probably of four periods, were detached before the flooding took place. All the frescoes of the Episkopi were shown at the exhibition of Byzantine frescoes and icons at the Byzantine Congress in 1976. For the eleventh-century frescoes, see M. Chatzidakis, in W. F. Volbach and J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Byzanz und der Christliche Osten*, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, III (Berlin, 1968), 237, pl. 177b; *Byzantine Murals and Icons*, Catalogue of the Exhibition, National Gallery, Athens, September–December 1976, p. 59, pls. II–IV, 5–9; Jolivet, *op. cit.*, 52, fig. 6.

<sup>25</sup> For a brief characterization of the linear hieratic style, especially in terms of its expansion in place and time, see P. L. Vocotopoulos, "Fresques du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle à Corfou," *CahArch*, 21 (1971) 178 ff.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. M. G. Sotiriou, *Αἱ ἀρχαῖα τοιχογραφία τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Ἁγ. Νικολάου τῆς Στέγης Κύπρου*, in *Χαριστήριον εἰς Ἀναστάσιον Κ. Ὁρλάνδον*, III (Athens, 1966), 140. For a reappraisal of the whole question, see the recent study by C. Mango, "Lo stile cosiddetto 'monastico,'" *passim*.

add special support to the assumption that the linear hieratic style, as discussed so far, has a metropolitan origin. Its presence in the earliest mosaics of San Marco in Venice and those of Torcello<sup>27</sup> points to the widest diffusion and, by implication, to a metropolitan origin. The spiritualized tendencies of the eleventh century are well revealed by the persistence of this style.

The inherent qualities of the linear hieratic style could have prompted undertakings along the same lines *ad perpetuum* in the provincial backwaters. It is, therefore, not surprising that the frescoes of a small church, St. Merkourios on the island of Corfu, which are securely dated to 1074/75,<sup>28</sup> reveal a debased version of the style. The long head with the large, almond-shaped eyes of the prophet Elisha (fig. 15) and the stylized treatment of the draperies recall the figural style of Hosios Loukas. The proper chronological context of this figure is suggested by a more pathetic quality in the face.

The mosaics of Nea Moni on Chios<sup>29</sup> represent a different stylistic trend in eleventh-century monumental painting in Greece, which corresponds to a somewhat later chronological phase following the mature stage of the linear hieratic style. The mosaics are traditionally dated to the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth decade of the eleventh century, on account of their association with the Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–55).<sup>30</sup> The association of Nea Moni with this emperor is confirmed by no less than fourteen chrysobulls, which are now lost; moreover, Barskij records that during his visit to the monastery he saw an inscription with the date 1045.<sup>31</sup> Although the monument has suffered considerably from earthquakes and fires and the decoration of the dome has been totally destroyed, the surviving mosaics provide a fairly adequate picture of the initial program. It may be noted, moreover, that these mosaics have undergone a minimal degree of restoration.

The main features of the style of the mosaics of Nea Moni may be seen in the depiction of the archangel Michael in the conch of the prothesis (fig. 18). A comparison of his face with that of an angel in fresco at Hosios Loukas (fig. 10) reveals the complex personality of the Chios figure, which makes the other look almost

<sup>27</sup> For the San Marco mosaics, see O. Demus, *Die Mosaiken von San Marco in Venedig, 1100–1300* (Baden, 1935). For the mosaics of Torcello, see *idem*, "Studies Among the Torcello Mosaics—I," *Burlington Magazine*, 82 (1943), 136ff.; "Studies...—II," *ibid.*, 84 (1944), 41ff.; "Studies...—III," *ibid.*, 85 (1944), 195ff.; *idem*, "Zu den Mosaiken der Hauptapsis von Torcello," *Stärinar*, N.S. 20 (1969)=*Mélanges Djurdje Bošković*, 53ff.; I. Andreescu, "Torcello. I. Le Christ inconnu. II. Anastasis et Jugement Dernier: têtes vraies, têtes fausses," *DOP*, 26 (1972), 183ff.; *idem*, "Torcello. III. La chronologie relative des mosaïques pariétales," *DOP*, 30 (1976), 245ff.

<sup>28</sup> Vocotopoulos, *op. cit.*, 151ff.

<sup>29</sup> A selected bibliography on this monument and its mosaic decoration includes: J. Strzygowski, "Nea Moni auf Chios," *BZ*, 5 (1896), 141ff.; O. Wulff, "Die Mosaiken der Nea Moni von Chios," *BZ*, 25 (1925), 115ff.; A. C. Orlandos, *Monuments byzantins de Chios*, Album (Athens, 1930), pls. 8–30; Diez and Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics*, 87ff., 96f., 110f.; O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (London, 1947), 22, 58f.; A. Grabar, *La peinture byzantine* (Geneva, 1953), 109ff.; Grabar and Chatzidakis, *Greece* (note 11 *supra*), 10, 18f., pls. xv–xxii; M. Chatzidakis, "Des chefs-d'œuvre byzantins en Grèce. Les mosaïques," *Connaissance des Arts* (March 1964), 55ff.; Lazarev, *Storia*, 150f. and *passim*; Ch. Bouras, "Die Insel Chios," in *Alte Kirchen und Klöster Griechenlands*, ed. E. Melas (Cologne, 1972), 244ff.

<sup>30</sup> The traditions concerning the imperial patronage of Nea Moni appear in G. Photeinos, *Τὰ Νεαμονήσια* (Chios, 1865). The history and architecture of the church are dealt with in depth by Ch. Bouras in the first volume of the forthcoming publication of Nea Moni. The second volume will include a study of the mosaics by the present writer.

<sup>31</sup> *Stranstvovanija Vasil'ja Grigoroviča-Barshago*, ed. N. Barsukov, II (St. Petersburg, 1886), 202.

naive. A strange mixture of intellectual sharpness and forbearance conveys an enigmatic expression. The rather fleshy face, low forehead, markedly arched eyebrows, almond-shaped eyes with their oblique glance, and aquiline nose do not portray a particularly idealized type. The face is modeled with olive-green, white, and pink tesserae. The olive-green shading around the eyes is heavily pronounced. It also frames the contour of the face, with an abrupt interruption preceding the area of the chin. There is elaborate hatching on the cheeks, with interchanged pink and olive-green circular modeling. This technique conveys a dynamic quality which is in contrast to the static approach of the Hosios Loukas faces. The bust of the archangel Michael illustrates, by the ornamental treatment of his costume and the extensive use of chrysography, an enamellike quality which constitutes a general characteristic of these mosaics.

The modeling technique of the face of the archangel Michael in the prothesis characterizes the rendering of the faces in the naos and the narthex of Nea Moni. From the scene of The Transfiguration in the southwest conch, the figure of John (fig. 19) exemplifies this feature. The dynamic character is particularly pronounced in the sweeping movement of the body, which acquires an abstract quality in its function as a vehicle of emotional tension. In the depiction of this apostle some of the typical features of the figural style of the mosaics become apparent. The draped surface is analyzed into clearly defined planes by means of sharp contrasts of light and shade. The daring use of this device makes it difficult to distinguish the local color of the garments. The intensity of facial expression and body movement, enhanced by chiaroscuro, constitutes a new, progressive element in the style of the mosaics, thus anticipating well-known tendencies in Comnenian painting.

The most outstanding feature of the mosaic technique of Nea Moni is the flexibility of the artist in combining his colored tesserae to differentiate age and emotional state between similar figures, as well as different representations of the same person. The John figure in The Crucifixion illustrates this principle (fig. 20). Whereas the modeling technique is the same as in the corresponding figure of The Transfiguration (fig. 19), the two faces are dissimilar due to the differentiation of the coloristic values of their shadows. The varying shades of purple for both the head and garments of John in The Crucifixion transform him into a heavy and sorrowful figure. They are in contrast to the lighter shadows of the youthful John of The Transfiguration, whose tense figure and expression are radiant under the impact of the Theophany he is witnessing. In the John figure of The Crucifixion the masterful manipulation of the values of colors compensates entirely for the poor draftsmanship, especially noticeable in the rendering of the arms. The misunderstanding of the contrapposto and the function of the drapery in general shows a disregard for classical principles in the rendering of the human body. It is, however, replaced by a dynamic rhythm derived from autonomous abstract designs. A new direction can be detected in the stylistic development of Middle Byzantine painting.

An apparent preference for vivid colors—red, green, and blue—characterizes the figures, secondary details, and ornament in Nea Moni. A good example is provided by the Longinus figure in The Crucifixion (fig. 20). The choice of colors, the thick dark contours, the deep shadows, and an extensive use of chrysography are

unprecedented in their combination with a painterly technique. A parallel approach is found in the field of enamel work and miniature painting. An outstanding example in miniature work is the imperial lectionary Dionysiou 587 of roughly the same period.<sup>32</sup> This profusely illustrated manuscript reveals a complexity in its stylistic expression. The expressive facial types enlivened by the intense play of glances are a feature shared by the Nea Moni mosaics and the miniatures of the Dionysiou Lectionary. Its use of color for the articulation of the scenes creates unusually lively effects reminiscent of the Chios mosaics. The Theodore Psalter (British Library, MS Add. 19352), from the year 1063,<sup>33</sup> can also be mentioned in this context. An emphasis on chrysography is also an element shared with the mosaics of Nea Moni. The indebtedness of these mosaics to miniature painting is even more clear in the ornaments used as frames for the scenic compositions and figures. This decoration seems to be directly related to the ornamentation of canon tables and headpieces in Middle Byzantine illustrated manuscripts.<sup>34</sup> The dependence of the Chios mosaics on miniatures is apparent in many other details. For instance, the inclusion of plants with flowers on a wavy ground in several scenes of the festival cycle is a characteristic feature of illustrated manuscripts, the most obvious example being the Menologion of Basil II. On the other hand, the rhythmical succession of the festival scenes under arched frames recalls the arrangement of icons on an iconostasis beam. The close interrelation of human forms and gestures, properly stressed by the intense play of glances and the dramatic contrasts of light and dark, builds up the dynamic character of these mosaics. A notable difference from the layout of the program of Hosios Loukas is the flowing rhythm, which brings together the pictorial elements of the decoration at Nea Moni. The spatial unity of this imposing *kuppelhalle*, the so-called single or "insular" variant of the domed octagon plan, is strongly accentuated by several other factors, such as the complete separation of the central space of the nave from that of the sanctuary. It may also be noted that the two superimposed zones of mosaic decoration extended above a high marble revetment of reddish, variegated slabs, which was also disposed in two zones. Thus, the effect of the glittering gold ground against which are projected vividly colored figures acquires a new dimension. The entire spatial unit conveys the appearance of a precious reliquary made out of costly materials.

The mosaics in the narthex of Nea Moni cannot be differentiated either in style or technique from their counterparts in the main church. Several portraits in the narthex, such as the four medallions of the pendentives in the cupola containing the busts of Joachim, Anna (fig. 22), St. Stephen, and St. Panteleimon, and at least two monastic figures, notably St. Theodore Studites and St. Theodosius on the soffit of the southern arch, all share the same masterly technique of the mosaics of the sanctuary and the naos. However, the work of a second mosaicist is evident in the remaining part of the mosaics of the narthex. This particular unit is low and

<sup>32</sup> See, in particular, K. Weitzmann, "An Imperial Lectionary in the Monastery of Dionysiou on Mount Athos. Its Origin and its Wanderings," *RESEE*, 7 (1969), no. 1, p. 239ff.; S. Pelekanidis, P. Christou, C. Mavropoulou-Tsioumi, and S. Kadas, *Οἱ Θεσσαυροὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὁπου*, I (Athens, 1973), 434ff., figs. 189–277.

<sup>33</sup> S. Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen Age*, II, *Londres, Add. 19.352* (Paris, 1970).

<sup>34</sup> *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections*, ed. G. Vikan, Catalogue of an Exhibition in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann (Princeton, 1973), figs. 22, 23; Pelekanidis et al., *Οἱ Θεσσαυροὶ*, fig. 190.

oblong, with very poor lighting. The mosaics occupy the upper half of the flat walls, the small central cupola with its pendentives, the two arches below, and two narrow barrel vaults of the side compartments. It is obvious that this narrow space created technical difficulties different from those of the high curved surfaces in the main church. An additional complexity resulted from the choice of multifigured scenes compressed into the narrow space of the narthex. Consequently, these mosaics display even less monumental character compared to the decoration in the main body of the church. Moreover, the lighter tonalities of colors which have been used may have been intended to compensate for the inadequate lighting. This could also explain the profuse use of stone tesserae for the garments.

A detail of the scene of The Betrayal of Judas on the south wall (fig. 21) illustrates the similarities and the differences between the mosaics of the narthex and those of the naos of Nea Moni. Strong modeling of the faces and chiaroscuro effects on the draperies closely follow the same devices of the naos. Some distinguishing features are noticeable, however. The hair is characterized by a more coloristic treatment, as opposed to the more general rendering in the main scenes. The chiton and the himation are more clearly differentiated in color when compared to the figures in the nave. Moreover, the play of light and shade is applied in a mechanical manner, increasing the effects of a flat design. As a consequence, the local white color in some of the himatia assumes the appearance of bright highlights. The dynamic quality of the mosaics in the main church is lacking here, replaced by a somewhat artificial rhythm.

An interesting detail concerns the awkward results produced by the elimination of architectural or landscape elements in the scene of The Prayer of Gethsemane, where Christ's kneeling figure is suspended in midair. A similar curious effect is produced by the triad of the sleeping apostles in the foreground (fig. 27); the arms which support the heads are shown against the gold ground and the hips of the apostles also appear as if they were placed above ground. Despite the inherent difficulties faced by the mosaicist of the narthex, this miniaturelike decoration has a strong aesthetic appeal. The crowded compositions and the succession of narrative episodes bring these scenes close to the level of human experience. The hagiographic portraits in the narthex must have also contributed to the general air of intimacy and enlivened the contact of the faithful with their saints. The concerned look of Daniel the Stylite (fig. 23) conveys this approach.

The mosaics of Nea Moni include many progressive elements, thus marking a departure from the style of the mosaics and frescoes of Hosios Loukas. The rigid poses and austerity of facial expression of the earlier decoration are less emphasized, giving way to a renewed flexibility and human responsiveness. The paratactic arrangement of the program in Hosios Loukas has been replaced by a rhythmical interrelation of pictorial elements. In these mosaics color substitutes for the function of line as a means of modeling the forms. It is the handling of shades used for gradation of tones that conveys a painterly character. Moreover, the earliest known attempt in the extant monumental painting of the Middle Byzantine period to exploit special aesthetic effects in the mosaic technique may be noted in this monument. In addition to the chrysography, the use of vivid colors recalling semiprecious stones

enhances the costly and ostentatious aspect of this medium. This new painterly style of the mosaics of Chios, progressive though it may be when compared with the style exemplified by the Hosios Loukas mosaics, appears to have a revival character and may be related to miniature painting of the Macedonian Renaissance.

A survey of the extant pictorial material in Greece and elsewhere in the Empire indicates that the mosaics of Nea Moni do not constitute an isolated case, but reflect, in a more accentuated version, a widespread tendency in the stylistic development of the painting of this period. Of the numerous artistic projects connected with Constantine Monomachos, this notorious Maecenas of the arts, only one other mosaic has been preserved, namely the votive panel in the south gallery of Hagia Sophia which shows the portraits of Monomachos and Zoe on either side of Christ enthroned.<sup>35</sup> The heads share some notable stylistic features with the mosaics of Nea Moni, namely the fleshy facial types, vigorous modeling, and certain coloristic devices.

The lost mosaics in the narthex of the Koimesis church in Nicaea,<sup>36</sup> dated by Cyril Mango between 1065 and 1067,<sup>37</sup> exemplify the main tendencies of the style of Nea Moni and the votive panel of Hagia Sophia. Their close stylistic affinities with the Chios mosaics are apparent in the depictions of the Evangelists in both churches. Their main characteristic consists in the use of surface patterns for the drapery which, as already noted, conceal the presence of the body. The attribution of these lost Nicaea mosaics to the initiative of the Patrician Nikephoros and the medium itself point to Constantinople as the place of origin of the artists.

The painterly style, applied around the mid-eleventh century in Nea Moni, was also diffused in the fresco painting of such dispersed places as Ohrid, Thessaloniki, Cappadocia, and Cyprus. The fresco cycle in St. Sophia in Ohrid, connected with the initiative of the Byzantine archbishop Leo (1037–59), represents one of the most complex monumental decorations of the period.<sup>38</sup> The linear eccentricities and the agitated quality of these frescoes anticipate later manifestations in Byzantine monumental painting.<sup>39</sup> Although the mosaics of Nea Moni rarely reveal linear tendencies, they share, in a subdued version, the dynamic character of the style of St. Sophia. Similar facial types, modeling based on chiaroscuro effects, psychological tension often expressed by an abrupt turning of the head, oblique, fierce glances, and sometimes uncouth hairstyles are shared by both decorations. A preference for rather robust figures with fleshy, slightly prosaic faces is also common in both instances. Notwithstanding these similarities, the more dynamic character of the frescoes in Ohrid may point to a tendency for exaggerating metro-

<sup>35</sup> T. Whittemore, *The Mosaics of Hagia Sophia at Istanbul. The Imperial Portraits of the South Gallery* (Boston, 1942), 9ff. It may be recalled that only the faces of the three figures in the Zoe panel are of the reign of Monomachos.

<sup>36</sup> O. Wulff, *Die Koimesiskirche in Nicäa und ihre Mosaiken* (Strasbourg, 1903); T. Schmit, *Die Koimesis-Kirche von Nikaia* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1927).

<sup>37</sup> C. Mango, "The Date of the Narthex Mosaics of the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea," *DOP*, 13 (1959), 245ff.

<sup>38</sup> R. Ljubinković, *La peinture médiévale à Ohrid* (Ohrid, 1961); *idem*, "La peinture murale en Serbie et Macédoine aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles," *Corsi Rav*, 9 (1962), 413ff.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. O. Demus, "The Style of the Kariye Djami and Its Place in the Development of Palaeologan Art," *The Kariye Djami*, IV (Princeton, 1975), 128f.

politan formulas in provincial environments, a feature which seems common in Macedonia, with extreme manifestations in monuments of the late twelfth and late thirteenth centuries.

Another fresco decoration of the period, that of Karabas kilise in Cappadocia, dated to 1060–61 and connected with the initiative of Protospatharios Michael Skepidis,<sup>40</sup> provides a more vigorous and freer interpretation of the painterly style. Faces verge on realism, and intense movement characterizes poses and gestures. Moreover, figures show a remarkable feeling for bodily weight which foreshadows the monumental style of the thirteenth century. The modeling is based on large touches of color and a free brushwork, thus indicating a somewhat later stage in the evolution of this trend.

A poor variant of the metropolitan painterly style may also be illustrated by the earliest layer of frescoes in the monastic church of Hagios Nikolaos tes Steges near Kakopetria on Cyprus.<sup>41</sup> The modeling is soft and free but lacking in vigor when compared to Nea Moni. On the other hand, the deep-set, staring eyes with their naive expression are reminiscent of the Hosios Loukas mosaics and frescoes.

Greece also provides some examples of the painterly style in fresco cycles. St. Sophia in Thessaloniki preserves several monastic fresco portraits on the arches of the west wall of the narthex. Striking stylistic similarities with certain hagiographic portraits in St. Sophia in Ohrid have already been observed.<sup>42</sup> The face of St. Euthymios (fig. 26) reveals the same soft modeling and a certain psychological animation, as shown by the contracted eyebrows. The summary treatment of the drapery and the weak drawing indicate, however, that these frescoes do not represent a high artistic achievement.

The church of the Virgin Protothronos in the village of Chalki on the island of Naxos preserves, among its several layers of painting, one group of frescoes which may be associated with an engraved dedicatory inscription including the date 1052 and the identity of the donors—Bishop Leo and Protospatharios Niketas. Specimens of this style are shown in two details of The Presentation of Christ on the south barrel vault.<sup>43</sup> The figures of Joseph (fig. 24) and Symeon (fig. 25) reveal their indebtedness to the style best represented by Hosios Loukas, which is especially apparent in the large, staring eyes. However, new elements pointing to a later period are also evident in the psychological involvement and the freer handling of the brushwork.

This bird's-eye view of eleventh-century monumental painting points to a basic conclusion. The origin of the two stylistic trends detected so far—the linear hieratic

<sup>40</sup> N. Thierry, "Etude stylistique des peintures de Karabas Kilise en Cappadoce (1060–1061)," *CahArch*, 17 (1967), 161ff.

<sup>41</sup> A. H. S. Megaw and A. Stylianou, *Cyprus. Byzantine Mosaics and Frescoes*, UNESCO (Paris, 1963), pls. v–viii; M. Sotiriou, *Αἱ ἀρχαῖαι τοιχογραφίαι* (note 26 *supra*), 133ff.; A. H. S. Megaw, "Byzantine Architecture and Decoration in Cyprus: Metropolitan or Provincial?," *DOP*, 28 (1974), 81f.

<sup>42</sup> S. Pelekanidis, *Νέαι ἔρευναι εἰς τὴν Ἀγίαν Σοφίαν Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ ἡ ἀποκατάστασις τῆς ἀρχαίας αὐτῆς μορφῆς*, in *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Θ' Διεθνoῦς Βυζαντινολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου, Θεσσαλονίκη 1953* (Athens, 1955), 404ff.

<sup>43</sup> N. Zias, "Some Recently Discovered Frescoes in the Church of Protothronos of Naxos," *Athens Annals of Archaeology*, 4 (1971), 368ff.; *idem*, in *Ἀρχ.Δελτ.*, 26, 2,2 (1971), *Chronica*, 474f. The most detailed account of the church and its fresco decoration is found in M. Panayotides, "Les monuments de Grèce depuis la fin de la crise iconoclaste jusqu'à l'an mille" (unpublished doctoral thesis, Paris, 1969), 174ff.

style and the painterly style—may well be attributed to Constantinople. In their initial phase, as has been noted, the one succeeded the other. Because of the lack of relevant pictorial material in the capital, this assumption may be supported by decorations in the provinces and outside the frontiers; particularly mosaics, which were in all probability executed only by Constantinopolitan artists,<sup>44</sup> lend weight to this hypothesis. The inherent retrospective character of Byzantine art makes it difficult to establish a reliable chronology for works illustrating the hieratic style. On the other hand, the Nea Moni mosaics appear to inaugurate the new painterly style which asserts itself during the reign of Constantine X Doukas (1059–67). The mosaics in the Koimesis church in Nicaea and the frescoes of Karabas kilise in Capadocia are two securely dated works of his reign.

The monuments of the second half of the eleventh century in Greece are few and, with only one exception, do not reveal progressive stylistic features. A modest fresco cycle, firmly dated by a dedicatory inscription to 1074–75, belongs to the small church of St. Merkourios on Corfu (fig. 15).<sup>45</sup> Another group of wall paintings in churches on the same island is close to the style of the St. Merkourios decoration.<sup>46</sup> Only one monument, Daphni, presents a revolutionary style which constitutes a break with the earlier modes of the century.<sup>47</sup>

Although the patronage of the catholikon of Daphni remains enigmatic, this most ambitious project is generally dated around the end of the eleventh century. The earliest dated document regarding the monastery is the Comnenian copy of the typikon of the secular confraternity founded in 1048 which has already been commented upon in connection with the patronage of Hosios Loukas. Actually, the first person to sign this document was the abbot of the monastery of Daphni.<sup>48</sup> Further indications are provided by the *vita* of a local saint, Hosios Meletios the Younger, and by a seal of an abbot of the monastery. This documentary evidence has been dated to the eleventh or twelfth century.<sup>49</sup>

Although the mosaics of Daphni seem to be an isolated case in terms of style in contemporary monumental painting, they mark a new classical trend at the beginning of the Comnenian period which assumes paramount importance for the subsequent development of Comnenian painting. Despite the fact that these mosaics underwent extensive restoration in the late nineteenth century, the main features of their style can be clearly discerned.

The prophets in the dome of the catholikon of Daphni represent the most “antique” group of figures in the program and testify to its strong classical aspect,

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Mango, “Lo stile cosiddetto ‘monastico’” (note 7 *supra*), 51ff.

<sup>45</sup> See *supra*, p. 88. Cf. Vocotopoulos, *op. cit.* (note 25 *supra*), 151ff.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 173ff.

<sup>47</sup> A selected bibliography on the mosaics of Daphni includes: G. Millet, *Le monastère de Daphni* (Paris, 1899); Diez and Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics* (note 11 *supra*), *passim*; Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (note 29 *supra*), 60f.; *idem*, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London, 1949) (hereafter Demus, *Mosaics of Norman Sicily*), esp. 375ff.; Grabar, *La peinture byzantine* (note 29 *supra*), 115ff.; Grabar and Chatzidakis, *Greece* (note 29 *supra*), 19, pls. xxiii–xxvii; Grabar, *Byzance* (note 11 *supra*), 110ff.; Lazarev, *Storia*, 194ff.

<sup>48</sup> Nesbitt and Wiita, *op. cit.* (note 16 *supra*), 366.

<sup>49</sup> For the documentation on Daphni, see R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins* (Paris, 1975), 311ff.; Koder and Hild, *op. cit.* (note 11 *supra*), 141f.



which has always been pointed out with regard to the style of these mosaics. This does not apply only to the adoption of specific motifs and to a vague recapture of the spirit of Antiquity. In fact, what we witness here is a revival of the anthropocentric character of classical art, as shown by strikingly monumental figures resembling ancient philosophers. The prophets, in particular, convey a new humanistic message which has parallels only in miniature painting of the Macedonian Renaissance.

From the point of view of physiognomies, the prophets in the church reflect the two most popular ancient types, the Jovian and the Apollonian, as illustrated, for instance, by the depictions of Isaiah (fig. 28) and Moses (fig. 29), respectively. The faces have open expressions, and each prophet gives the impression of playing a role. The bodies have also been rendered in two different manners. The first, exemplified by the depiction of Moses (fig. 29), reveals particular emphasis on a vigorous sculptural handling. The forward leg is more intensely modeled with use of tonal gradations. The dynamism of the figure and its striking corporeality liberate the body in space. The second approach, illustrated by the prophet Isaiah (fig. 28), is markedly static. It reveals a conservative application of the contrapposto; the free leg is faintly modeled in light and shade, while the supporting one disappears on account of the linear treatment of the himation. The numerous vertical folds anticipate stylistic developments in later Comnenian art. The three-dimensional quality of the prophets in Daphni, best seen from below, is enhanced by the use of time-honored drapery motifs, such as the arm slings, and by the correct application of modeling based on strong juxtapositions of light and shade, or a much more graded technique.

The scene of The Baptism (fig. 30) provides a good example of the handling of figural elements and compositional principles. The nude body of Christ, often described as the most successful representation of its kind in Middle Byzantine painting, has a fragility and a swaying pose which recall Lysippean formulas. His face reveals an idealistic standard of youthfulness. The faces of the two bystanders and John the Baptist reflect conventional types which appear to correspond to the three ages of man. Though the angels are of strikingly different complexions, they both convey an abstract genre of female beauty. The modeling of the flesh is much more subtle when compared to the heavy painterly approach at Nea Moni. The lighter tonalities are dominant and the shadows, reduced to a minimum, are rendered with light green tesserae. The faces thereby acquire a rounder and more youthful aspect. The composition provides one of several solutions for the adaptation of scenes to curved surfaces. Although Christ is placed on the axis, the scene is balanced without adhering to strict principles of symmetry. This and the remaining scenes in the program reveal the way in which the layout of the compositions has been perfected in comparison with the mosaics of Hosios Loukas and Nea Moni.

One of the main aesthetic merits of the mosaic decoration in Daphni is the unity of the layout of the program and its harmonious integration in the architectural space. To attain this result the figures have been subjected to special considerations in relation to the distance from which they are meant to be viewed. The overwhelming presence of the Pantokrator is compensated for by the monumental figures of the prophets. The scenes in the squinches and the flat niches of the arches convey an

impression of small panel paintings. This discrepancy in scale is counterbalanced by the impressive half-figures of the Church doctors, high priests of the Old Testament, and the large mosaic panels of the lower zone. Ornamental decoration also plays an essential part in this attempt toward a unified approach.

Unlike Hosios Loukas and Nea Moni, the program at Daphni comprises an impressive number of scenes disposed on flat surfaces which form arched panels, thus complementing the flowing rhythm of the four principal scenes in the squinches and the numerous arcades in this church. Among the scenes on flat surfaces, The Entry into Jerusalem, The Crucifixion, The Anastasis, The Incredulity of Thomas, and The Dormition of the Virgin are accorded special importance by their size and refinement of execution. Always in accordance with its content, each one of these scenes exhibits some of the typical features of the style of the mosaics. Strong reminiscences of antique formal elements are observed, for instance, in The Crucifixion, The Anastasis, and The Incredulity of Thomas. John in The Crucifixion is one of the most convincing representations of a draped figure, revealing a thorough assimilation of the contrapposto, a striking corporeality, as well as a self-sufficient emotional expression. The restrained indication of pathos may be paralleled in ancient Attic funerary works. The Anastasis preserves a strong classical character in its facial types. Moreover, The Incredulity of Thomas is reminiscent of ancient gatherings of literati and conveys an almost pagan flavor. The Entry into Jerusalem, on the other hand, is more naturalistic in character, and lends itself to the exploitation of a variety of physiognomical types. Certain faces, especially one with the ornamental treatment of the hair and beard recalling an ancient "foliate" mask, recur very often in the mosaics of the church. The linear and highly decorative rendering of the hair and beard apparent in some portraits, such as those of Aaron, Gregory Thaumaturgos, and Eustratios, anticipates current tendencies in later Comnenian art. The same holds true for the hatchings, replacing the shadow of the neck, which are formed by alternating rows of dark and flesh-tone tesserae. Another innovative feature is the psychological involvement expressed by faces, poses, and gestures. In The Dormition of the Virgin (fig. 31) the faces of the apostles, with their contracted eyebrows and the small triangular shadows beneath their eyes, convey their emotional state, which is further enhanced by the bowed heads, slow movements, and pathetic gestures. The flowing quality in the contrasting rhythm of their poses becomes an element of constant interest in twelfth-century painting, occurring in such early examples as the frescoes of Asinou (1105-6) (fig. 37).

In the nave at Daphni the scene of The Birth of the Virgin (fig. 32) exhibits, to an even greater degree, the refined quality of the style of the mosaics. The figures in the scene, which resembles a commemorative group portrait in an aristocratic setting, have elegant poses and gestures. The cult of elegance, further emphasized by a predilection for ornate details, represents a novel tendency which departs from the general austere approach of eleventh-century art and points, instead, to tastes current in the later Comnenian period.

The mosaics in the narthex of Daphni include two cycles. In the northern section three pre-Passion scenes—the Washing of the Feet, The Last Supper, and The Be-

trayal—complement the Christological cycle of the nave and imitate its style. Special facial types, such as those of the “foliate” heads, are repeated, though in a caricatural manner, and the draperies display a similar rendering of patterns. The stylistic features which are different from those of the main church consist of a less rigorous compositional scheme, a distortion of bodies and physiognomical traits, and a weakening of the three-dimensional quality. These mosaics lack the masterly technique apparent in the nave.

The three Mariological scenes in the southern section of the narthex, depicting The Annunciation to Joachim and Anna, The Blessing of the Priests, and The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple, form both the prelude and sequel to the scene of The Birth of the Virgin in the main church. They, too, depart from the main stylistic principles that prevailed in the decoration of the sanctuary and nave, which may have been due partly to the use of a different model, as is implied by the innovative nature of this cycle. A less firm modeling and a rather softer treatment betray a weakening of the technical competence in the rendering of this cycle. A taste for narrative details and surface patterns is also noticeable. The Annunciation to Joachim (fig. 33), the most lyrical episode in the Marian cycle of the church, has a close affinity with the figures in the nave insofar as pose and facial type are concerned. Nevertheless, the three-dimensional quality of the bodies is not emphasized, and the faces have a bland expression which is absent from the faces in the nave. Their modeling relies heavily on pink tesserae, and the small triangular shadows applied to the garments give them a silky appearance. It has been argued that the mosaics of the narthex belong to a later period than those of the main church. This theory cannot be conclusively sustained by the stylistic and technical analysis of the mosaics.

At Daphni the classical refinement, the compositional coherence of the pictorial elements of the scenes, the harmonious integration of the mosaics in the architectural space, and the technique itself reveal a masterly achievement in the history of this medium. The numerous colors of glass tesserae produce a greater variety of shades when compared to Nea Moni. Moreover, the tonalities at Daphni are markedly lighter, and silver cubes have been used. The chrysography, on the other hand, is reduced. Sophisticated technical devices, such as the “checkerboard” shadows, have been applied, as, for example, along the upper jaw line of the Virgin’s face in the scene of The Crucifixion.<sup>50</sup> It is, therefore, evident that the workshop involved in the decoration of Daphni was surely one of the best in the capital of the Empire.

The mosaics of Daphni appear to be an isolated phenomenon in the history of Byzantine monumental painting. It may be noted, moreover, that, despite the remarkable creativity of this period in the field of miniature painting, specific works bearing striking elements of stylistic affinity with the mosaics of Daphni have not as yet been identified.<sup>51</sup> In fact, these mosaics seem to rely conspicuously on illu-

<sup>50</sup> Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*, 38, fig. 29; cf. J. Gage, “Colour in History: Relative and Absolute,” *Art History*, I, 1 (1978), 112ff.

<sup>51</sup> For a discussion of the stylistic development of miniature painting in the second half of the eleventh century, see K. Weitzmann, “Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting in the Eleventh Century,” *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Oxford 1966*, esp. 210ff.; repr. *idem*, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. H. Kessler (Chicago, 1971), 275ff. The flat, linear

minated manuscripts of the Macedonian Renaissance, especially with regard to the statuesque, monumental handling of the human figure. In this case also, the Menologion of Basil II lends itself for comparative purposes.<sup>52</sup> The dating of the mosaics around the turn of the eleventh century gains additional support by the inclusion, in a formative stage, of numerous elements found in the Comnenian style. The strong classicism of the Daphni mosaics is echoed by Sicilian mosaics of the mid-twelfth century.<sup>53</sup>

The metropolitan origin of the mosaics of Daphni cannot be disputed. At the end of the eleventh century Greece was still passing through a phase of relative prosperity and stability after the termination of the Bulgarian wars. The memory of the famous pilgrimage of Basil II to the Acropolis may have further induced an imperial patronage for this project. The dating of the mosaics, as established on stylistic grounds, coincides with the reign of Alexios I. It is, however, something of a puzzle that no echo of such a major imperial patronage is detectable in contemporary sources,<sup>54</sup> if it indeed took place.

The theory of the metropolitan origin of the style exemplified by the mosaics of Daphni, gains additional weight from the study of a most significant fresco cycle of the period in the parecclesion of the Trinity at the monastery of Chrysostomos near Koutsovendis on Cyprus.<sup>55</sup> A painted dedicatory inscription, studied and published by Cyril Mango,<sup>56</sup> associates the decoration with Eumathios Philokales, a very important figure in the military hierarchy of the Byzantine state. He served twice as the Byzantine governor of the island, from 1092 to 1103 and from 1110 to 1118. The frescoes should be connected with the first term of Philokales' stay on the island, as has been argued by Susan Boyd in her lecture during the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium on Venetian mosaics. The terminus ante quem for the Chrysostomos frescoes is the year 1105–6, the date of the completion of the Asinou wall paintings. The Chrysostomos master is considered responsible for introducing to Cyprus the particular style which can be clearly detected in less refined versions at Asinou and later cycles.<sup>57</sup>

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style of several illuminated works, dated or datable around the turn of the eleventh century, has been pointed out in other studies as well; see, for instance, L. Nees, "An Illuminated Byzantine Psalter at Harvard University," *DOP*, 29 (1975), 209f.

<sup>52</sup> The close stylistic relation of the mosaics at Daphni to miniature painting of the Macedonian Renaissance had prompted A. Frolow to suggest a dating in the tenth century for the mosaics: "La date des mosaïques de Daphni," *RA*, 1962, 2, p. 183ff.; *idem*, "La date des mosaïques de Daphni," *Corsi Rav*, 9 (1962), 295ff.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Demus, *Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, 260.

<sup>54</sup> It is worth noting that two imperial portraits in fresco, of a much later date, were found in the narthex during the work of consolidation carried on in the late nineteenth century; cf. Millet, *op. cit.*, 21f.

<sup>55</sup> Brief comments on the unpublished frescoes of St. Chrysostomos are found in C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "Report on Field Work in Istanbul and Cyprus, 1962–1963," *DOP*, 18 (1964), 333ff.; A. Papa-georgiou, *Masterpieces of the Byzantine Art of Cyprus* (Nicosia, 1965), 17f., pls. xiv, xv.2, xvi.2; C. Mango, "Summary of Work Carried Out by the Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Center in Cyprus, 1959–1969," *RDAC*, 1969, p. 101; D. Winfield, "Hagios Chrysostomos, Trikomo, Asinou. Byzantine Painters at Work," Πραγματούμενα τοῦ Πρώτου Διεθνoῦς Κυπρολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου, *Nicosia 1969* (Nicosia, 1972), II, 285ff.; Megaw, "Byzantine Architecture" (note 41 *supra*), 83ff.; K. Weitzmann, "A Group of Early Twelfth-Century Sinai Icons Attributed to Cyprus," *Studies in Memory of David Talbot Rice* (Edinburgh, 1975), 50, fig. 18b.

I am indebted to Professor Cyril Mango for permission to publish figs. 35 and 36.

<sup>56</sup> Mango and Hawkins, "Report on Field Work," 335ff.

<sup>57</sup> David Winfield has suggested that the frescoes of Asinou and those of the church of Trikomo were painted by a pupil of the Chrysostomos Master: *op. cit.*, 289.

Among the more progressive figures at Chrysostomos are those of Moses (fig. 35) and Ezekiel (fig. 36) on the northwest and southwest piers, respectively. The faces of the prophets show greater psychological involvement than the faces in The Koimesis of Daphni (fig. 31). The triangular shadows beneath the eyes are more conspicuous and the rendering of the body reveals a correct understanding of its plastic quality. The same applies to the handling of the garments. The dynamic posture and the agitated draperies point again to a more dramatic version of the style of Daphni<sup>58</sup>.

There is every reason to believe that the last two decades of the eleventh century, which coincide with the establishment of a new imperial dynasty, were characterized by a diversity of styles in monumental painting, both old and new. However, there is still no consensus of opinion about some of the material which may be placed into this chronological framework.<sup>59</sup> Important fresco cycles from this period are yet unknown in Greece.

This survey of the monumental painting of the eleventh century in Greece has shown its key role in our understanding of the principal stylistic trends of the period. The mosaics of Hosios Loukas, Nea Moni, and Daphni assume special importance and may serve as focal points around which several other decorations can be grouped. It is hardly necessary to stress the importance of these works as reflections of contemporary monumental painting in Constantinople, of which so little is preserved. In addition, the pictorial material in Greece contributes to the evaluation of monumental painting in other provinces of the Byzantine Empire and areas outside its frontiers that had received its cultural impact.

The monuments discussed so far also afford some insights into the social and economic history of the Byzantine State. The three major monastic establishments

<sup>58</sup> The close stylistic relationship between the Chrysostomos frescoes and the mosaics of Daphni was first suggested by Weitzmann, "Twelfth-Century Sinai Icons," 50.

<sup>59</sup> One important fresco cycle which should fall within the chronological framework of the end of the eleventh century is that of the Veljusa Church near Strumica in Yugoslavia. The year 1080, in which the monastery of Eleousa was founded, is accepted by many scholars as the date of the frescoes decorating the catholikon and the adjoining chapel, while it is rejected by others on the basis of certain iconographic and stylistic peculiarities. The frescoes have a painterly quality which recalls the style of the Doukas period. For these frescoes, see M. Jovanović, "O Vodoči i Veljusi posle konzervatorskih radova," *Zbornik na Štipski ot Naroden Muzej*, 1 (1958–59), 130 ff.; V. Djurić, "Fresques du monastère de Veljusa," *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress, München 1958* (Munich, 1960), 113 ff.; G. Babić, *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines* (Paris, 1969), 94 ff.; P. Miljković-Peppek, "Za nekoi novi podatoci od proučuvanjata na crkvata Sv. Bogorodica vo S. Veljusa," *Kulturno Nasledstvo*, III (Skopje, 1969), 147 ff. In his communication at the Athens International Congress of 1976, Mr. Miljković-Peppek placed the Veljusa frescoes between 1085 and 1094 on the basis of archeological and literary evidence.

It also seems that the dating of the Bačkovó ossuary frescoes is not definitely established. See the recent monograph by E. Bakalova, *Bačkovskata Kostnica* (Sofia, 1977), who argues for a dating to the second half of the twelfth century. On the other hand, A. D. Grishin has prepared a Ph.D. thesis in which he argues for a late eleventh-century dating, that is, close to the foundation of the monastery by Pakurianos. See his communication, "The Bačkovó Ossuary Frescoes of 1074–1083," in the *résumés* volume of the Athens Byzantine Congress of 1976.

The picture of eleventh-century monumental painting can be enriched considerably by a study of the three-column churches of Cappadocia, i.e., Carikli kilise, Elmanli kilise, and Karanlik kilise, which have been dated either to the eleventh or the twelfth century. The argumentation for an eleventh-century dating is presented in N. Thierry, "L'art monumental byzantin en Asie Mineure du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle au XIV<sup>e</sup>," *DOP*, 29 (1975), 87 ff. The extensive bibliography on these monuments appears *ibid.*, 87 note 68. In addition, the Georgian fresco decoration of the Sion church at Ateni, datable between 1072 and 1089, is of special importance for the history of monumental painting of the period: Š. Amiranašvili, *Istorija gruzinskoj monumentalnoj živopisi*, I (Tbilisi, 1957), 78 ff., pls. 52–89.

of the eleventh century in Greece are discussed in a recent study by Cyril Mango, who stressed the unusual flourishing of this particular type of artistic investment, undertaken mostly by emperors.<sup>60</sup> The undertaking of such initiatives by the upper classes of the local society has also to be taken into consideration; the most intriguing case is probably that of Hosios Loukas. The remaining painted decorations of this period fall into the usual three categories. The first comprises monastic churches of modest scale, as, for example, the catholikon of Myriokephala on Crete. The case of John Xenos, the Cretan saint who associated his name with this and several other monasteries on the island, is of particular interest. The second category includes private churches, such as that of the Panaghia ton Chalkeon, which presuppose a relatively wealthy owner. The question remains open as to whether some of these churches were catholika of monasteries. Moreover, their funerary function can often be implied. The last category encompasses the churches open to the ordinary cult, as, for instance, the episcopal churches. Patrons of such establishments were usually bishops, sometimes assisted by local high functionaries, as in the example of the Protothronos of Naxos. St. Sophia in Thessaloniki can also be included in this category.

## II. THE TWELFTH CENTURY

With the exception of Daphni, the second half of the eleventh and the first half of the twelfth centuries in Greece provided few monumental cycles of high quality. Moreover, what is actually preserved from the first half of the twelfth century is datable within the first decade. The most important example is represented by a fragment of the mosaics which once decorated the apse and west wall of the Metropolis of Serrai in northern Greece.<sup>61</sup> The figure of St. Andrew (fig. 34), housed at present in the museum of the Rotunda in Thessaloniki, originally formed part of the scene of the Communion of the Apostles in the apse. Although it has been restored, it nevertheless preserves its stylistic identity. Certain of its features indicate an affinity in style with the mosaics of Daphni, but the facial type is much closer to slightly later Comnenian standards and the technique has a more painterly, dynamic quality. These elements, together with the animated expression of the face, relate the figure more closely to those at St. Chrysostomos on Cyprus.

The stylistic evidence provided by the dated fresco cycle of Asinou on Cyprus (1105–6)<sup>62</sup> may assist in dating two further fresco decorations in Greece—those of the Mavriotissa in Kastoria and of the Episkopi on Santorini. The more important

<sup>60</sup> Mango, "Les monuments de l'architecture" (note 15 *supra*), 351 ff. The complexity of the problems relating to the artistic activities during the eleventh century has been commented upon by A. Grabar, "L'art byzantin au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *CahArch*, 17 (1967), 257 ff.

<sup>61</sup> P. Perdrizet and L. Chesnay, "La métropole de Serrès," *Mon Piot*, 10 (1903), 126 ff.; *Byzantine Art, an European Art*, Catalogue of the Exhibition, Athens, 1964, pp. 219, 531; Lazarev, *Storia*, 197, 255 note 55 (with older bibliography).

<sup>62</sup> For the frescoes of the church, see Megaw and Stylianiou, *Cyprus* (note 41 *supra*), pls. viii–xi; Papa-georgiou, *op. cit.*, pls. x–xiii; M. Sacopoulo, *Asinou en 1106* (Brussels, 1966); D. C. Winfield and E. J. W. Hawkins, "The Church of Our Lady at Asinou, Cyprus," *DOP*, 21 (1967), 261 ff.; Mango, "Summary of Work," 102 f.; Winfield, "Hagios Chrysostomos, Trikomo, Asinou," 285 ff.; Megaw, "Byzantine Architecture," 85 f.; Weitzmann, "Twelfth-Century Sinai Icons," 48 ff.; P. Drossoyianni, "Some Observations on the Asinou Frescoes," *Κληρονομία*, 10, 1 (1978), 53 ff.

is in the church of the Mavriotissa, which includes paintings from at least three periods.<sup>63</sup> The major part of the fresco program in the naos and the narthex has been dated by several scholars to the beginning of the thirteenth century. It was considered to be a provincial variant of an earlier, more archaizing style. S. Pelekanides, who had initially placed these wall paintings in the eleventh century, proposed at the International Byzantine Congress in Athens in 1976 a dating to the beginning of the twelfth century. His main evidence was provided by a literary source indicating the patronage of Alexios I Comnenos in connection with a church at Kastoria. This was borne out by comparisons with the dated frescoes of Asinou and those of the church of the Episkopi on Santorini, which are also associated with Alexios. A further consideration of a technical order also speaks against a thirteenth-century dating of the Mavriotissa cycle. On the east wall of the narthex The Baptism, a fresco which can undoubtedly be dated on stylistic grounds to the end of the twelfth century,<sup>64</sup> was painted over the first layer, which had been dated to the early thirteenth century.

In addition to a large number of innovative iconographic features, the Mavriotissa frescoes are characterized by an equal number of stylistic idiosyncrasies. An evident feature is a complete disregard for the classical standards of the appearance of the human figure, which can be seen, for instance, in two details of The Dormition of the Virgin (figs. 38, 40). Facial traits are so distorted that they verge on caricature. The mannerist elongation of the bodies is accompanied by a strong violation of the human proportions, and a dislocation of the joints in the body is particularly prominent. The emotional energy which is infused into the figures anticipates the same approach in Macedonian examples of the late twelfth century. Moreover, the prosaic appearance of the human figure and a certain lack of decorum are shared by monuments in this area from the Middle Byzantine period onward. The earliest known example is the decoration of St. Sophia in Ohrid.

The scenes of the Mavriotissa reveal a marked tendency toward a *horror vacui*, both in their iconographic details and in the immense variety of stylistic devices. The psychological restlessness of the figures is an extreme case of the provincial adaptation of sophisticated formulas which were already noticeable around the end of the eleventh century in the ultrarefined monumental decorations of the churches of St. Chrysostomos and Daphni. The indisputable metropolitan inspiration upon these two decorations provides an insight that this tendency derives from a Constantinopolitan source. These also indicate the channel through which provincial artists, such as the one of the Mavriotissa, could have derived their own expression in terms of recent developments.

The connection between the Mavriotissa church and Daphni is too farfetched to be suggested. On the other hand, the Asinou frescoes of Cyprus (figs. 37, 39) may illustrate convincingly their dependence on the Chrysostomos wall paintings and the provincial manner in which they interpreted them. Due to the fact that the Asinou

<sup>63</sup> For the Mavriotissa frescoes, see S. Pelekanidis, *Καστοριά* (Thessaloniki, 1953), pls. 63–86; M. Chatzidakis "Aspects de la peinture murale du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle en Grèce," *L'art byzantin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Symposium de Sopotani 1965* (Belgrade, 1967), 64f.; N. K. Moutsopoulos, *Καστοριά. Παναγία ή Μαυριώτισσα* (Athens, 1967).

<sup>64</sup> See *infra*, p. 110.

frescoes are artistically superior to those of the Mavriotissa, the two monuments reveal different degrees of provincialization of metropolitan or quasi-metropolitan devices.

Numerous innovative iconographic features which severally characterize each one of these fresco cycles provide a link between them. From the point of view of style some related elements may be pointed out. The faces of the apostles in the Dormition scene of both monuments (figs. 37, 38) share a psychological participation in the event, particularly evident in the rendering of the almond-shaped eyes and the special diagonal shadow line above and below. Apart from the overly accentuated, abstract handling in the Mavriotissa church, the drapery follows similar devices. The organic integration of the drapery with the human body is missing in both scenes, even though an artificial emphasis is placed on the protruding areas. The interior modeling is based on a restricted number of fine lines which produce oval shapes. As already noted in reference to the Asinou frescoes,<sup>65</sup> these are counteracted by straight outlines, heavy folds, and straight hems, which neutralize any impression of corporeality. This simplified approach differentiates itself in an outspoken way from the most intricate and restless drapery motifs in monumental painting of the late twelfth century. Such a consideration adds weight to an earlier dating of the Mavriotissa frescoes.

The frescoes in the church of the Episkopi on the island of Santorini, which is attributed on some documentary evidence to the initiative of Alexios I,<sup>66</sup> possess a strikingly *retardataire* character, revealing the survival of the linear expressive elements of the style of the first half of the eleventh century. This can be seen in a detail of The Anastasis (fig. 41) and in a hagiographic portrait (fig. 43). Although the quality of the paintings is far removed from the standards of an imperial commission, their dating to this period, nevertheless, cannot be disputed. The Christ of The Anastasis (fig. 41) reveals a more advanced stylization, both in the facial features and in the rendering of the drapery, when compared to the Christ of The Dormition in the Mavriotissa (fig. 42). A linear and schematic treatment of the heads is even more apparent in the rendering of two saints in these churches (figs. 43, 44). They share a summary brushwork, an extremely stylized approach, and an immobility in the rendering of the features which emphasizes their moody expression.

The scarcity of monumental painting in Greece during the first half of the twelfth century can hardly be compensated by dated monumental cycles in other areas. So far as miniature painting is concerned, it can be stated that the only well-defined group of illustrated manuscripts during the twelfth century is the one which includes, among other important examples, the Codex Ebnerianus of the Bodleian Library in Oxford and the two copies of the Homilies of James of Kokkinobaphos. In view of the fact that one member of this group, the Gospel Lectionary in the Vatican (MS Urbinas gr. 2), possesses a dedication miniature depicting John Comnenos and his son Alexios, a metropolitan origin for the whole group can hardly

<sup>65</sup> Weitzmann, "Twelfth-Century Sinai Icons," 49.

<sup>66</sup> A. K. Orlandos, 'Η Ἐπισκοπή τῆς Σαντορίνης, in Ἀρχ.Βυλ. Μνημ. Ἑλλ., 7 (1951), 178 ff.; Skawran, "Middle Byzantine Fresco Painting," 126 ff., 275 f.; Jolivet, *op. cit.* (note 1 *supra*), 57.



be disputed. Its dating to the second quarter of the twelfth century has recently been affirmed.<sup>67</sup> These manuscripts do not seem to provide assistance in filling the existing gap in monumental painting.

The earliest dated monumental decoration of the twelfth century in Greece, and the largest project in the area, belongs to a much later period. The fresco decoration in question is found in the catholikon of the monastery of the Virgin Kosmosoteira at the village of Pherrai in Thrace, about halfway between Alexandroupolis and the Turkish border.<sup>68</sup> The monastic establishment was founded in 1152 by the sebastokrator Isaac Comnenos, youngest son of Alexios I and brother of the Emperor John II. Isaac intended the monastery as his burial place and composed the typikon himself.<sup>69</sup> Through this document and other contemporary sources, we know a great deal about one of the most colorful personalities of the Comneni.<sup>70</sup> In harmony with the tradition of the family, Isaac had special humanist interests, as indicated, for instance, by the illustrated Octateuch copy in the Seraglio Library in Istanbul, commissioned by him.

The imperial rank of the founder and the location of the monastery close to the capital of the Empire give special importance to the paintings of the Kosmosoteira. The frescoes, which decorate a five-domed cross-in-square church of considerable dimensions,<sup>71</sup> have not yet been cleaned or published. Despite their poor state of preservation enough remains to indicate their impressive quality. A stylistic analysis of the frescoes shows that they are contemporary with the foundation of the monastery.<sup>72</sup>

A large number of portraits of military saints, represented half-length on the side walls of the nave of the Kosmosoteira, exhibits some of the basic conventions of Comnenian figural style. For instance, an unnamed figure which may be identified as St. Merkourios (fig. 45) has the oblong face with the almond-shaped eyes and aquiline nose that became standard features of saints' physiognomies in the twelfth century. The same applies to the thick, curly hair, which is treated in a linear manner. The modeling of the face is elaborate. One can note, more particularly, the extensive use of shading and the discreet appearance of red patches on the cheeks. A further Comnenian feature is the ornamental approach to the garments, as found in the military saints of the mosaics of Cefalù.<sup>73</sup> On the other hand, a comparison of the Merkourios figure at Pherrai with the group of military saints at Nerezi,<sup>74</sup> a

<sup>67</sup> This group of manuscripts was recently studied by J. Anderson, "An Examination of Two Twelfth-Century Centers of Byzantine Manuscript Production" (unpublished Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1976).

<sup>68</sup> The basic study on the history and architecture of the monument is by A. K. Orlandos, *Τὰ βυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Βῆρας*, in *Θρακικά*, 4 (1933), 3ff. A very detailed study of the painted decoration was presented in the form of a Master's thesis by Dr. Nancy Patterson Ševčenko: "Byzantine Frescoes at Pherrai" (Faculty of Philosophy, Columbia University, 1964). The cleaning and restoration of the frescoes began in 1966, but was interrupted shortly afterward; cf. M. Chatzidakis, in *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, 22, 2, 1 (1967), *Chronica*, 29, pls. 49–50.

<sup>69</sup> L. Petit, "Typicon du monastère de la Kosmosoteira près d'Aenos (1152)," *IRAİK*, 13 (1908), 17ff.

<sup>70</sup> For some data of Isaac's biography, see O. Jurewicz, *Andronikos I. Komnenos* (Amsterdam, 1970), *passim*.

<sup>71</sup> The dimensions of the church are 20 × 17.60 m. See Orlandos, *Τὰ βυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα*, 8.

<sup>72</sup> A dating of the frescoes to around 1200 was suggested recently by V. J. Djurić, "La peinture murale byzantine: XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles," *XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines, Rapports et Co-rapports*, III, *Art et Archéologie* (Athens, 1976), 25f., pl. III, 5.

<sup>73</sup> Demus, *Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, pl. 7a.

<sup>74</sup> O. Bihalji-Merin, *Byzantine Frescoes and Icons in Yugoslavia* (New York, 1958), pl. 21.

fresco decoration commissioned about thirteen years later by another member of the Comnenos family, is instructive for the place occupied by the frescoes of the Kosmosoteira in the history of Comnenian wall paintings. Despite strong iconographic affinities, the Nerezi figures are more frail, look more concerned, and their rendering is more calligraphic than at Pherrai. The severe, almost ferocious expression of St. Merkourios conforms much better to the earlier tradition, and the same holds true for the monumental appearance of the figure.

One of the prophets in the upper parts of the walls at Pherrai (fig. 46) exemplifies the stylistic approach adopted for a different group of saints. A strong sense of monumentality is suggested by the large head, broad shoulders, and freer modeling technique. The face, with its eyes gazing steadily beyond the viewer, projects a severe ethos, and a self-sufficiency which recalls the figural style of the prophets in the mosaics of Daphni. The rendering of the face finds parallels in the roughly contemporary portraits of apostles in the apse at Cefalù, of 1148.<sup>75</sup> There can hardly be any doubt that the common features in the two examples constitute basic characteristics of the classicizing, monumental style of around 1100, as seen in the mosaics of Daphni. Compared to the Sicilian mosaics, the figure at Pherrai echoes more faithfully the classical spirit of the earlier monument.

A representation of another prophet (fig. 47), on the north wall of the nave of the catholikon at Pherrai, illustrates, even more convincingly, the conservative style adopted for the rendering of the portraits in this church. Although bodily volume has been considered, there is no movement in the figure, not a single sign of emotional excitement in the pose, gestures, or facial features. Moreover, the garments show an emphasis on straight vertical lines. Another characteristic of this as of most of the other figures is a high waistline. In addition, the use of soft tonal gradations from the lighted to the shaded areas of the draperies gives a luminous iridescent quality to the colors; the combination of pink and light green is often noticeable. As a result of this modeling technique the extensive fragmentation of the draped surfaces, which also appears in the mosaics of Cefalù, is absent here. Furthermore, the prophet at Pherrai, although revealing a combination of frontal and three-quarter views, also seen in the contemporary Sicilian monument, demonstrates a better understanding of the function of the drapery and a closer adherence to the classicism of Daphni.

The scenic representations at Pherrai, although poorly preserved, illustrate the truly monumental and high quality of the style of these frescoes. A detail of the angel in the scene of The Marys at the Tomb (fig. 49), in the southern half of the transverse vault that connects the northern pair of columns with the north wall of the nave, provides an outstanding example of this approach. The countermovement of the body is composed in a masterly fashion to emphasize the statuesque appearance of the figure. The white himation, shaded in green, has a flowing quality. When compared with its counterpart in the identical composition in the church of the Transfiguration in Pskov, a provincial Russian fresco decoration of about 1156,<sup>76</sup> the high artistic merit of the angel in the fresco at Pherrai becomes more apparent.

<sup>75</sup> Demus, *Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, pl. 4.

<sup>76</sup> S. Yamchtchikov, *Pskov. L'architecture et les arts des XII<sup>e</sup>–XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Leningrad, 1978), pl. 21.

Several apostles of The Pentecost in the nave of the catholikon at Pherrai are characterized by an accentuated countertwist of the torso and thighs. The emphasis on the volume of the rounded parts of the body, involving a smooth modeling as opposed to the brittle quality of the vertical folds of the flat drapery, is a distinctive feature of the figural style in the church.

The frescoes of the Kosmosoteira represent a very ambitious undertaking. Although somewhat lacking in elegant poses and in sophisticated compositional devices, they reveal a monumental approach. The conservatism of these paintings is apparent from the absence of the distinctive features of the later Comnenian style, particularly movement. The large size and broken surfaces of the church emphasize even more the iconographic and aesthetic isolation of the pictorial elements of this decoration.

The apparent conservatism of the style of the frescoes at Pherrai contrasts sharply with numerous progressive features in the iconographic program, such as a long procession of celebrant bishops which starts midway on the long walls of the nave. From a stylistic point of view, the wall paintings corroborate the evidence provided by the Sicilian mosaics of the mid-twelfth century. Neither of these decorations betrays any substantial signs of the stylistic revolution in monumental painting which seems to have taken place only in the third quarter of the century, and which is epitomized by the frescoes at Nerezi of around 1164.

Another fresco decoration in northern Greece may be placed chronologically close to that of Pherrai, and points to identical conclusions with regard to artistic developments in Greece during this period. It is preserved in the church of the Savior in Chortiatis, a few kilometers outside Thessaloniki.<sup>77</sup> This monument, octagonal in plan, belongs to the variant of Nea Moni on Chios. The dome and the narthex have been destroyed.

On the south wall of the bema a bishop (fig. 51), depicted in three-quarter view as is usual in the twelfth century for bishops depicted in the apse, is shown holding a codex instead of an open scroll, which indicates that the iconography of officiating bishops is not yet well established and suggests an early dating. A frontal representation of another hierarch, in all probability St. John Chrysostom (fig. 52), on the south wall of the nave close to the sanctuary shares some common elements with the former prelate. Both faces show a rather pronounced modeling technique and a certain ugliness, which recalls some faces of bishops in the church of the Kosmosoteira. In the western part of the church a youthful saint in a medallion (fig. 50), with a broad, round face, large staring eyes, an aquiline nose, and a linear rendering of the hair, is treated in a different manner which again recalls the archangel in the dome of the prothesis at Pherrai (fig. 48). The immobility of the features in both cases indicates a further affinity between the two works.

<sup>77</sup> A brief mention of the frescoes is made in N. Nikonanos, 'Η ἐκκλησία τῆς Μεταμορφώσεως τοῦ Σωτῆρος στὸ Χορτιάτη, in Κέννος (Τιμητικὴ προσφορά στὸν καθηγητὴ Γεώργιο Μπακαλάκη) (Thessaloniki, 1972), 109, pl. 34,3. I wish to thank Dr. Nikonanos for permission to publish photographs of the Chortiatis frescoes. This decoration has been tentatively placed by Dr. Nikonanos at the end of the twelfth century. On the other hand, a date close to that of the frescoes of Mileševo has been suggested in Djurić, "La peinture murale byzantine," 61. The surviving painted decoration is in the process of being cleaned.

On the upper part of the south wall of Chortiatis Joachim and Anna from The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple (fig. 53) serve as examples of the treatment of the human body in this church. The figures are slender and the draperies, though traditionally rendered, are treated in a refined manner, modeled in light and shade. Anna's face, on the other hand, conveys an inner anxiety not uncommon in figures of monumental painting during the second half of the twelfth century. The frescoes of Chortiatis acquire special importance because of the location of the church in the vicinity of Thessaloniki. A tentative but probable dating of these frescoes would place them between Pherrai and Nerezi.

The evidence provided by the frescoes of Pherrai and Chortiatis for stylistic developments in monumental painting in Greece around the middle of the twelfth century is further confirmed by a slightly later group of frescoes which belong to the Taxiarchai church in Mesaria, on the island of Andros. The architecture of the church was studied by A. Orlandos.<sup>78</sup> A dedicatory inscription engraved around the impost of the northwestern column of the church provides the date of the erection of the monument, 1158, and the names of the donors, Constantine Monastiriotes and his wife, Irene Prasini.<sup>79</sup> Despite the fact that persons bearing the name of Monastiriotes occupied important posts in the central government administration during the same period,<sup>80</sup> the name is quite common and gives no basis for associating the donors with Constantinople. Nevertheless, the good quality of the architecture, the refined sculptural work, and the style of the paintings indicate a rather ambitious project, which may be justified by the prospering state of the island during the Middle Byzantine period.<sup>81</sup>

The Ascension, in the barrel vault of the bema, lends itself to stylistic observations. The angel (fig. 54) on the northern half of the vault has a statuesque appearance and reveals a conservative approach, as at Pherrai. The folds of the garment are sparse and vertical and the waistline is also high. The drapery style is best attested in the representations of two apostles of The Ascension (fig. 55). Their garments mold the body, revealing its plasticity, and the folds are characterized by a dynamic diagonal movement. The ends of the draperies often terminate in enlarged shell-like folds. A third detail of The Ascension (fig. 56), on the southern part of the barrel vault, shows a more accentuated plasticity of the bodies. Figural types, poses, and gestures betray a provincial interpretation of the standard antique vocabulary. The elliptical configuration over the thigh of one of the apostles, who is rendered in a twisted pose, foreshadows developments to be seen in the frescoes of Perachorio on Cyprus, datable to the eighth decade of the twelfth century.<sup>82</sup>

It is generally accepted that a major change in the style of monumental painting of the Comnenian period occurred during the second half of the twelfth century.

<sup>78</sup> A. K. Orlandos, *Βυζαντινά μνημεῖα τῆς Ἀνδρου*, in *Ἀρχ.Βυζ. Μνημ. Ἑλλ.*, 8 (1955–56), 8ff.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 28; the same date is provided by a further engraved inscription (*ibid.*, 31).

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 28f. See also L. Bouras, "Architectural Sculptures of the Twelfth and the Early Thirteenth Centuries in Greece," *Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἑτ.*, ser. 4, vol. 9, 1977–79(1979), 65.

<sup>81</sup> Orlandos, *Βυζαντινά μνημεῖα τῆς Ἀνδρου*, esp. 5ff.

<sup>82</sup> A. H. S. Megaw and E. J. W. Hawkins, "The Church of the Holy Apostles at Perachorio, Cyprus, and Its Frescoes," *DOP*, 16 (1962), 279ff., figs. 38–39.

ry,<sup>83</sup> and that the key work illustrating this change are the frescoes of the monastic church of St. Panteleimon in Nerezi near Skopje.<sup>84</sup> The date is 1164 and the patronage almost imperial, since the donor was a cousin of the Emperor Manuel Comnenos. The portrait of St. Tryphon (fig. 57) in the northwest chapel exhibits some of the really impressive elements of the new style. A most refined face displays an extensive and bold use of white highlights. The linear approach to the face is much less accentuated than in the case of St. Panteleimon, the most celebrated portrait in the church. On the other hand, scenic representations, such as The Transfiguration and The Threnos, inaugurate a type of composition in which the rhythmical integration of the human figures into the landscape aims at enhancing both the emotional and the decorative character of the scenes. The frescoes of Nerezi, as is well known, do not represent a homogeneous stylistic entity. The festival scenes in the nave and the hagiographic portraits beneath them, as well as the portrait of St. Panteleimon on the southeast pier of the sanctuary and a few other frescoes in the western chapels, most probably reflect contemporary developments in Constantinople. However, other paintings, especially in the bema, display a rather prosaic style with harsh modeling and less refined facial features; these foreshadow the main tendencies in Macedonian monumental painting of the last quarter of the twelfth century.

The frescoes of the monastic church of St. George in Djurdjevi Stupovi, near Novi Pazar,<sup>85</sup> constitute a more convincing link with the later monuments in the area. The church and its paintings are the result of the initiative of the Grand Župan Stefan Nemanja, the founder of the Serbian dynasty. The dedicatory inscription above the principal entrance on the west front, which was discovered recently, provides a date of 1171/72 for the erection of the church.<sup>86</sup>

Compared to a number of faces at Nerezi, many faces at Djurdjevi Stupovi have a more prosaic expression, as seen, for instance, in the youthful male figure preserved from The Raising of Lazarus.<sup>87</sup> The emphatic use of highlights enlivens their appearance and constitutes a typical feature of the frescoes of this church. On the other hand, a novel element is the bulkiness of the bodies, which may be

<sup>83</sup> For a characterization of late Comnenian style, see especially: Demus, *Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, 418 ff.; *idem*, "Die Entstehung des Paläologenstils in der Malerei," *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress, München 1958* (Munich, 1958), IV, 2, 63 ff.; E. Kitzinger, *Monreale* (Palermo, 1960), 75 ff.; K. Weitzmann, "Eine spätkomnenische Verkündigungssikone des Sinai und die zweite byzantinische Welle des 12. Jahrhunderts," *Festschrift für Herbert von Einem* (Berlin, 1965), 299 ff.; L. Hadermann-Misguich, "Tendances expressives et recherches ornementales dans la peinture byzantine de la seconde moitié du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Byzantion*, 35 (1965), 429 ff.; E. Kitzinger, "The Byzantine Contribution to Western Art of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *DOP*, 20 (1966), 25 ff.; *idem*, "Byzantium and the West in the Second Half of the Twelfth Century: Problems of Stylistic Relationships," *Gesta*, 9, 2 (1970), 49 ff.; O. Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West* (New York, 1970), 139 f. and *passim*; L. Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbino. Les fresques de Saint-Georges et la peinture byzantine du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Brussels, 1975), 31 ff. and *passim*; *idem*, "La peinture monumentale tardo-comnène et ses prolongements au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines, Rapports et Co-rapports*, III, *Art et archéologie*, 99 ff.

<sup>84</sup> G. Millet and A. Frolow, *La peinture du Moyen Age en Yougoslavie*, I (Paris, 1954), pls. 15–21; M. Rajković, "Iz likovne problematike nereskog živopisa," *ZVI*, 3 (1955), 195 ff.; P. Miljković-Peppek, *Nerezi* (Belgrade, 1966); Lazarev, *Storia*, 200 f., 256 note 60 (with older bibliography).

<sup>85</sup> N. Okunev, "Stolpy svjatogo Georgija," *SemKond*, 1 (1927), 234 ff.; Millet and Frolow, *Yougoslavie*, I, pls. 22–30.

<sup>86</sup> J. Nesković, "Djurdjevi Stupovi u Rasu," *Raška Baština*, I (Kraljevo, 1975), 156.

<sup>87</sup> V. Durić, *Byzantinische Fresken in Jugoslawien* (Munich, 1976), fig. 22.

seen in the rendering of the prophets in the dome and in the scene of The Pentecost.<sup>88</sup>

The reign of Manuel Comnenos appears to have witnessed the production of several fresco cycles in the revolutionary style of Nerezi and Djurdjevi Stupovi. Although it cannot be ascertained that the initiator of this style was the most accomplished master of the Nerezi frescoes, the style was rapidly diffused, as is indicated by other monuments in the area. A primary example is that of the now lost fresco of The Threnos in the Panaghia ton Chalkeon, published by the late A. Xyngopoulos.<sup>89</sup>

Some of the new progressive features in the two major Macedonian decorations of the third quarter of the twelfth century constitute the hallmarks of the so-called "dynamic" style, a term coined by Professor Ernst Kitzinger. Of this most distinctive and widely popular style in Byzantine monumental painting of the last decades of the century the best example in Greece is a particular group of frescoes in the Anargyroi church in Kastoria.<sup>90</sup> Although there is no information concerning the donor, Theodoros Limniotis, a dating in the 1190's seems quite probable for these frescoes because of close iconographic and stylistic affinities with the only firmly dated monument in the area, the church of St. George at Kurbinovo of 1191, located a few kilometers north of Kastoria across the Yugoslavian border.<sup>91</sup> These affinities have led scholars to the conclusion that both monuments were most probably decorated by the same artists.<sup>92</sup> It is also apparent that the two fresco decorations of Hagioi Anargyroi and Kurbinovo are iconographically and stylistically indebted to the frescoes of Nerezi. In the Kastoria church two military saints, St. Demetrios (fig. 58) and St. George (fig. 59), illustrate this point.<sup>93</sup> The linear treatment of the Kastoria figures has developed much further than at Nerezi. The armor of the two saints almost defies the medium of the fresco and looks as if it were cast in metal. When compared with the face of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi, the face of St. George with his Medusa hair and introverted appearance is even more removed from the tradition of the earlier Comnenian period. This intense increase of linearity constitutes a basic characteristic of the "dynamic" style, especially in its late manifestations. The exaggerated stylistic features of the Kastoria frescoes can also be seen in the frescoes of Kurbinovo. The manneristic elongation of the

<sup>88</sup> Millet and Frolov, *Yugoslavie*, I, pls. 24.1, 29.2-3.

<sup>89</sup> A. Xyngopoulos, *Αἱ ἀπολεσθεῖσαι τοιχογραφίαι τῆς Παναγίας τῶν Χαλκίων Θεσσαλονίκης*, in *Μακεδονικά*, 4 (1955-60), 1 ff., pls. 1-4.

<sup>90</sup> A. Orlandos, *Τὰ βυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Καστοριάς*, in *Ἀρχ.Βυζ.Μνημ.Ἑλλ.*, 4 (1938), 24 ff.; Pelekanidis, *Καστοριά* (note 63 *supra*), pls. 1-42; Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo*, 35 ff. and *passim* (bibliography in notes 47 and 48); T. Malmquist, *Byzantine 12th Century Frescoes in Kastoria. Hagioi Anargyroi and Agios Nikolaos tou Kasnitzi* (Uppsala, 1979).

<sup>91</sup> For the extensive bibliography on the frescoes, see Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo*, 35 f.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 35 note 47, 36 f. A detailed study of the iconographic and stylistic affinities shared by the two painted decorations is included in this monograph; see esp. p. 563 ff. The author came to the conclusion that one or several painters (designated under the letter A) executed the better quality frescoes in the Anargyroi church, especially in the nave and the aisles, as well as certain hagiographic portraits in the narthex. This particular painter or several painters may belong to the workshop of Kurbinovo. A further conclusion, mainly on iconographic basis, is that the Anargyroi frescoes should be placed around 1180 and therefore antedate the decoration at Kurbinovo (*ibid.*, 582 ff.). Two stylistic features of the Kastoria frescoes, namely their more classical appearance and subdued dynamism, have also been considered as indications for an earlier dating.

<sup>93</sup> Miljković-Peppek, *Nerezi*, pl. 41.

bodies and the tiny heads, which lend a very unclassical appearance to the figures, are characteristic elements shared by both monuments. In addition, the flying ends of mantles and the rippling folds—hallmarks of the “dynamic” style—are also found here. The restlessness of the draperies thus imparts to the figures a nervous vitality and a perpetual psychological alertness. In certain instances, the agitated folds of the draperies have been exaggerated in an almost absurd manner,<sup>94</sup> indicating the shortcomings of the new style as handled by provincial painters. However, not all of the distinctive features of the “dynamic” style are present in the wall paintings illustrating this trend. Even the Anargyroi frescoes, so closely related to those of Kurbinovo, do not reveal to the same degree the frantic movement which characterizes many scenes in the latter church.<sup>95</sup>

The question whether the frescoes of the Anargyroi church precede or postdate the decoration of Kurbinovo has been a controversial issue. In my opinion, the Kastoria frescoes should be dated later than those of Kurbinovo, since, in most cases, their stylization is more pronounced and the typical devices of the “dynamic” trend have been corrupted to a degree which cannot be explained solely in terms of quality. Some faces which are broader and also more emotional anticipate stylistic developments of the thirteenth century. The assumption that the Kastoria frescoes postdate the decoration of Kurbinovo may be supported by one particular group of frescoes in the narthex of the Anargyroi church (cf. fig. 86). As in some decorations of the turn of the twelfth century a freer and more monumental rendering is apparent.<sup>96</sup> The painter of this group of frescoes in the narthex worked side by side in that area with the painters who decorated also the main part of the church.

The “dynamic” style in other monuments of Kastoria reveals an even more subdued approach, as in the case of the church of St. Nicholas of Kasnitzis.<sup>97</sup> No historical information regarding the donor of the frescoes, the magistros Nicholas Kasnitzis, is available. Despite the fact that the title of magistros was no longer indicative of an administrative function,<sup>98</sup> it does point to the social prestige of the donor, whose portrait, together with that of his wife, is depicted in the narthex.

The dependence of the scene of The Transfiguration at Kasnitzis on the identical scene at Nerezi and even earlier monuments can be detected.<sup>99</sup> It is basically the grief-stricken face of John and the multi-folded edge of his garment (fig. 61) which recall the dynamic elements of the late manifestations of the style under discussion.

In the scene of The Dormition at St. Nicholas of Kasnitzis (fig. 60) an exaggerated slenderness and elongation of the bodies are noticeable, as well as an abrupt contrast between highlighted and shaded areas of the garments. Because of the arbitrary use of this device the figures acquire a phosphorescent appearance, and the facial features are distorted.

<sup>94</sup> Pelekanidis, *Καστοριά*, pls. 7 and 8.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. The Anastasis and The Ascension; Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo*, figs. 79, 81, and 85.

<sup>96</sup> See *infra*, p. 119.

<sup>97</sup> Orlandos, *Τὰ Βυζαντινὰ μνημεῖα τῆς Καστοριάς*, 137 ff.; Pelekanidis, *Καστοριά*, pls. 43–62; Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo*, 35 and note 46 (with earlier bibliography); Malmquist, *op. cit.*

<sup>98</sup> For the title of “magistros,” see N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX<sup>e</sup> et X<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, 1972), 294. Here, the latest records of this title are dated to the beginning of the twelfth century.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Kitzinger, “Byzantium and the West” (note 83 *supra*), 53.

The frescoes in the church of St. Nicholas are devoid of the excessive agitation and plethora of drapery convolutions that is seen at Kurbinovo and, to a lesser degree, at the Anargyroi church. The Kasnitzis frescoes may be dated to the 1180's on stylistic grounds. Apart from the fact that some of the frescoes are hastily executed at the expense of artistic quality, the disintegration of the Nerezi tradition is apparent in the pathetic, haggard faces with distorted features bordering on caricature, as well as in the increased dryness and a feeling of monotony and fatigue.

The use of a linear network of highlights which segments faces and covers garments is one of the most obvious characteristics which the tradition of Nerezi and Djurdjevi Stupovi bequeathed to the painters of the last quarter of the twelfth century. Another example in this context is The Baptism (fig. 62), a fresco of the second layer in the Mavriotissa church in Kastoria.<sup>100</sup> The figures have slender bodies, and their facial types express an inner tension relevant to the "dynamic" style. This fresco is stylistically related to the wall paintings of St. Nicholas of Kasnitzis, and therefore their dates should coincide.

A further example of the "dynamic" style is preserved in the Vatopedi monastery of Mount Athos. The fresco fragment of Peter and Paul Embracing, at present kept in the library, belonged originally to the refectory, which was decorated on the initiative of Stefan Nemanja and St. Savas around 1197/98.<sup>101</sup> The broad faces reveal a more mechanical rendering of the network of highlights, thus indicating a decline of this particular stylistic device.

Although the pictorial material of the so-called "dynamic" style of the late twelfth century represents a widespread tendency in Macedonian monuments, its distinctive features can rarely be traced in other areas of Greece. Nevertheless, this style enjoyed wide popularity in other parts of the Byzantine Empire and outside its frontiers. It may be claimed that it originated in Constantinople, as indicated by its early manifestations in the frescoes of Nerezi and also by its wide diffusion. A relatively early but rather provincial variant is illustrated by the wall paintings of Perachorio on Cyprus,<sup>102</sup> whereas a more accomplished expression is found in the mosaics of Monreale dated to the next decade, that is, the 1180's.<sup>103</sup> However, the study of the extant material reveals that nowhere but on Macedonian soil did the "dynamic" style acquire such exaggerated mannerisms.

Examples of the "dynamic" style in miniature and icon painting are very few in number. Apart from the Gospel cod. 3 of the Patriarchate of Istanbul, which betrays some of the drapery agitations of this style,<sup>104</sup> several "dynamic" features may also be detected occasionally in icon painting of Sinai.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>100</sup> The Baptism scene has been dissociated from the rest of the painted decoration in the Mavriotissa and placed at the end of the twelfth century for the first time by Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo*, 37.

<sup>101</sup> G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos*, I, *Les peintures* (Paris, 1927), pl. 98; S. Radojčić, *Majstori starog srpskog slikarstva* (Belgrade, 1955), 6f.; *idem*, "Die Meister der altserbischen Malerei vom Ende des XII. bis zur Mitte des XV. Jahrhunderts," *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Θ' Διεθνoῦς Βυζαντινολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, 434; Lazarev, *Storia*, 212, 260 note 123.

<sup>102</sup> Megaw and Hawkins, "The Church of the Holy Apostles at Perachorio" (note 82 *supra*), 279ff.

<sup>103</sup> Demus, *Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, esp. 91ff.; Kitzinger, *Monreale* (note 83 *supra*).

<sup>104</sup> Reference to the Gospel cod. 3 of the Patriarchate in connection with the stylistic developments of late twelfth-century miniature painting was made by Professor H. Buchthal in his lecture at the Dumbarton Oaks Symposium on the mosaics of Venice. The manuscript is published by G. A. Sotiriou, *Κεμήλια τοῦ*



The beginnings of the "dynamic" style can be placed in the third quarter of the twelfth century, always taking into account the fact that developments in the visual arts are inevitably the result of a long process. By the end of the last decade this style had completed its development. It survived in a few fresco cycles of the thirteenth century, especially in Macedonian monuments.<sup>106</sup>

Monumental painting of the late twelfth century in central and southern Greece exemplifies a different stylistic approach, best illustrated in the fresco cycles of St. Hierotheos near Megara in Attica and the Evangelistria church in Yeraki in southern Peloponnese. In the monastic church of St. Hierotheos<sup>107</sup> only the cupola decoration dates from the twelfth century. It includes a seated Pantokrator (fig. 67) surrounded by four medallions with the Hetoimasia, the Virgin, and two angels, as well as two pairs of half-kneeling archangels on either side of the Hetoimasia and the Virgin. In the drum are eight prophets, in a poor state of preservation.

The cupola decoration of St. Hierotheos provides one of the most characteristic examples of an ornamental treatment which belies the fresco medium's monumental function. The aesthetic effect of the paintings comes closer to that of enamels and illuminated manuscripts, as is also indicated by the refined ornamentation. The figures present a new code of elegant appearance, which is completely different from the paintings of Kurbinovo, the Anargyroi church in Kastoria, and other Macedonian monuments. It is enough to compare a detail of one angel at Megara (fig. 63) with the angels in The Baptism at the Mavriotissa in Kastoria (fig. 62) in order to confirm the stylistic gap which separates the two groups of paintings. When compared to the Megara figure, the faces of the Macedonian angels with their harsh modeling and drawn features look almost like caricatures. By contrast, the angel at Megara has a softly modeled oval face with regular features and a mild expression. The angel Giil in a medallion at Megara (fig. 66) recalls the angels in the mosaics at Daphni. This particular figure has reacquired the haughtiness and a certain sense

Οἰκουμηνικοῦ Πατριαρχείου (Athens, 1937), 70 ff., pls. 46–59. A Ph.D. dissertation concerning this manuscript was presented recently at the Institute of Fine Arts (New York University) by R. S. Nelson, "Text and Image in a Byzantine Gospel Book in Istanbul" (1978).

<sup>105</sup> Several among the Sinai icons reveal an exaggerated motion for dramatic effects; see K. Weitzmann, "Three Painted Crosses at Sinai," *Kunsthistorische Forschungen Otto Pächt zu seinem 70. Geburtstag* (Salzburg, 1972), 23 ff., fig. 1. Others show intense anxiety in facial expression and gestures; *idem*, "Byzantium and the West Around the Year 1200," *The Year 1200: A Symposium* (New York, 1975), 66 f., fig. 34. A representation of an extreme state of psychic anxiety is also noticeable in two further icons datable to the end of the twelfth century, one again in Sinai and the other in Kastoria: M. Chatzidakis, "L'évolution de l'icone aux 11<sup>e</sup>–13<sup>e</sup> siècles et la transformation du templon," *XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines, Rapports et Co-rapports*, III, *Art et Archéologie*, 181, 184 f., pls. xxxvi, 19 and xxxvii, 20 and 21.

<sup>106</sup> See, for instance, the frescoes of St. Nicholas of Prilep in Yugoslavia.

<sup>107</sup> A view of the cupola decoration was published for the first time in G. Lampakis, *Mémoire sur les antiquités chrétiennes de la Grèce* (Athens, 1902), 76, fig. 145. The particularity of the seated Pantokrator in the dome is discussed in Demus, *Mosaics of Norman Sicily*, 212. A brief commentary on this cupola decoration appears in Hadermann-Misguich, "La peinture monumentale tardo-connène" (note 83 *supra*), 110, pl. xxv.10. The St. Hierotheos frescoes which were repainted became darkened since the time of Lampakis. They were cleaned and restored by the Archaeological Service in 1978; during this phase of work, carried out by the restorer S. Papageorgiou and his collaborators, the prophets in the dome were revealed for the first time. I am grateful to Mr. M. Michaelidis, Director of Byzantine Antiquities of the Archaeological Service, for permission to publish the frescoes of St. Hierotheos. For a presentation of this material, see D. Mouriki, 'Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος τοῦ τρούλλου τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἱεροθέου κοντὰ στὰ Μέγαρα, *Athens Annals of Archaeology*, 11, 1 (1978), 115 ff., figs. 1–15.

of vanity which we tend to associate with classical art, thus indicating that the paintings follow a long and accomplished pictorial tradition.

The self-sufficiency of the figures at St. Hierotheos is characterized by the facial expressions and the pose and articulation of the bodies, as shown by the archangel worshipping the Virgin (fig. 76). The body, firmly positioned on the ground, is convincingly modeled in light and shade. The confident drawing attests a revived interest in the classical rendering of the human figure. A self-conscious search for elegant forms and decorative effects is also noticeable.

The delicate pastel shades and the decorative articulation of the figure of the Archangel Gabriel worshipping the Hetoimasia (figs. 63, 65) exemplify even more the ornamental and elegant quality of the Megara paintings. Although some of the mannerisms of the so-called "dynamic" style, such as the flying ends and the rippling folds of the draperies, have been employed, the main difference from the works of the true "dynamic" style lies in the lack of motivation for these agitated draperies. They seem to fulfill an ornamental purpose only. We are dealing with a different stylistic trend, which is better known as the "rococo" manner. Professor Demus has recently proposed a more evocative term, the Byzantine "art nouveau" style, because of its flowing quality, an unmistakably fin-de-siècle flavor.<sup>108</sup> Firmly dated decorations which exemplify this trend have so far been recognized in Cyprus only, and it is, therefore, the Cypriot material which may assist us in dating the Megara frescoes. The earliest dated example of this style is the frescoes at the Hermitage of St. Neophytos near Paphos, of 1183.<sup>109</sup> In many figures, such as the Gabriel of The Annunciation and the participants in The Anastasis (fig. 64), a manifest preference for elegant undulations of draperies, rendered in the playful manner that we also see in St. Hierotheos, is apparent. Arrested movements and flowing lines are devoid of the dramatic quality and nervous vitality which characterize the products of the "dynamic" style. The Gabriel figure in Hierotheos (fig. 65) has many elements in common with the figures in the Hermitage of Neophytos. The ripples of the hem of Adam and the flying end of Christ's himation are treated similarly to the hem and the hanging drapery of the Hierotheos angel. The Cyprus frescoes reveal a somewhat less vigorous modeling and a slightly more artificial use of the same devices. In short, a more manneristic and dry technique was applied to this monument. The wall paintings of Neophytos may then serve as a *terminus ante* for the date of the Megara frescoes, which I would like to place in the late 1170's.

A further Cypriot fresco decoration, representative of the "art nouveau" manner, is to be seen at the Panaghia tou Arakou in Lagoudera, dated 1192.<sup>110</sup> The figure of Moses (fig. 68) in the dome provides a characteristic example of a more mannered phase. The standard devices already mentioned are present, used, however, in an

<sup>108</sup> Demus, "Venetian Mosaics" (note 2 *supra*), 340.

<sup>109</sup> C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and Its Wall Paintings," *DOP*, 10 (1966), esp. 193ff., figs. 61-67, 72-73, 89, 108-9.

<sup>110</sup> A. Stylianou, *Αἱ τοιχογραφίαι τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Παναγίας τοῦ Ἀράκου, Λαγουδερά, Κύπρος*, in *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Ὁμιλοῦ Βυζαντινολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, 459ff.; Papageorgiou, *op. cit.* (note 55 *supra*), pls. xxiii-xxvii; Megaw and Stylianou, *Cyprus* (note 41 *supra*), pls. xiv-xviii; D. Winfield, "Reports on the Work at Monagri, Lagoudera, and Hagios Neophytos, Cyprus, 1969/1970," *DOP*, 25 (1971), 262ff.; A. H. S. Megaw, "Background Architecture in the Lagoudera Frescoes," *JÖB*, 21 (1972), 195ff.; *idem* "Byzantine Architecture" note 41 *supra*, 88, fig. 43.

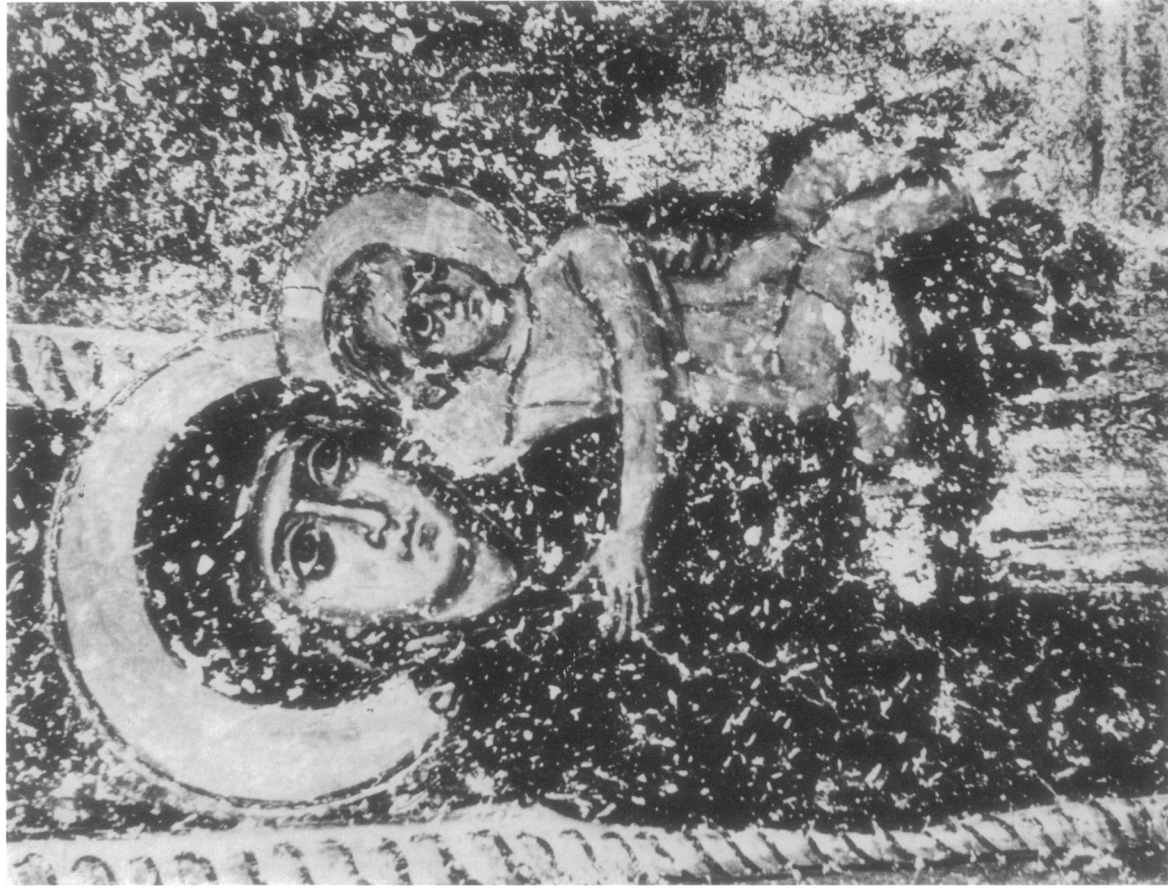


1. St. Gregory of Nyssa, detail

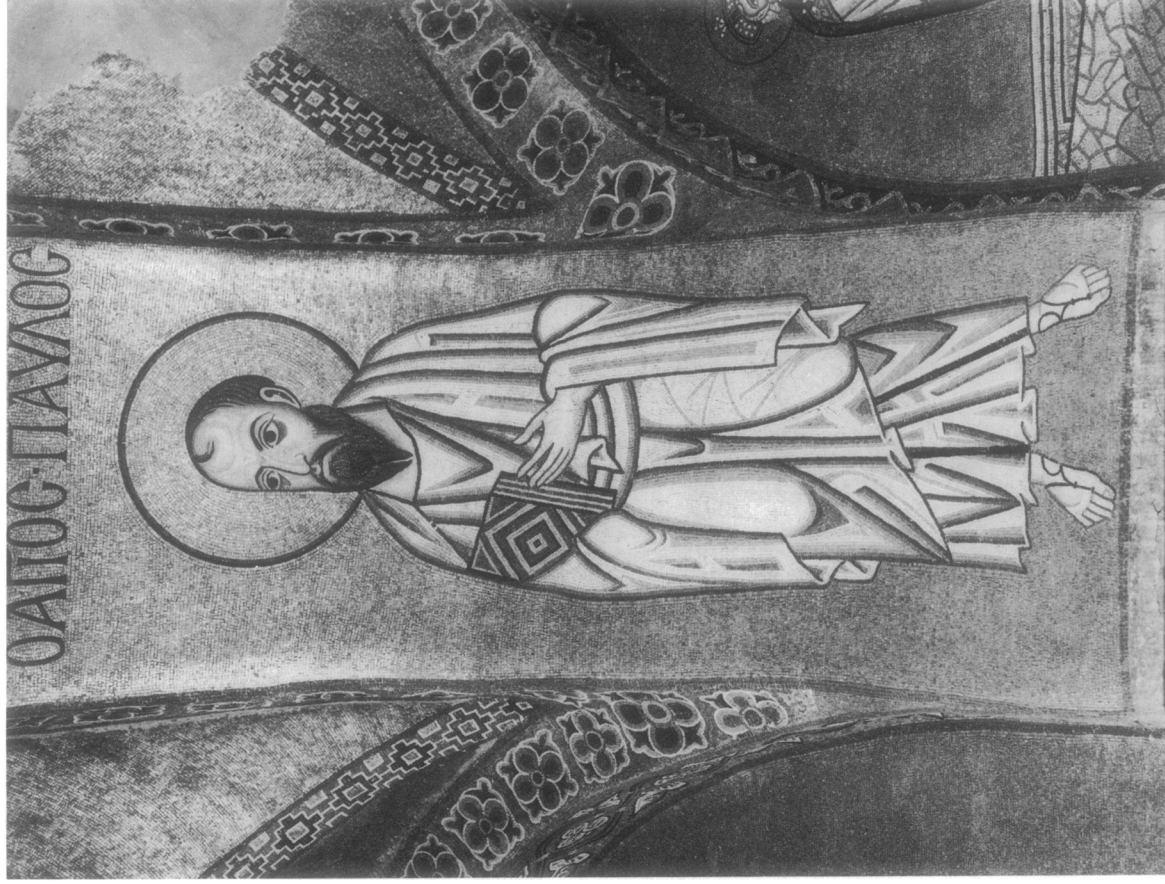


2. The Last Judgment, detail, Christ

Thessaloniki, Panaghia ton Chalkeon



3. Thessaloniki, Panaghia ton Chalkeon. The Presentation of Christ, detail, the Virgin and Child

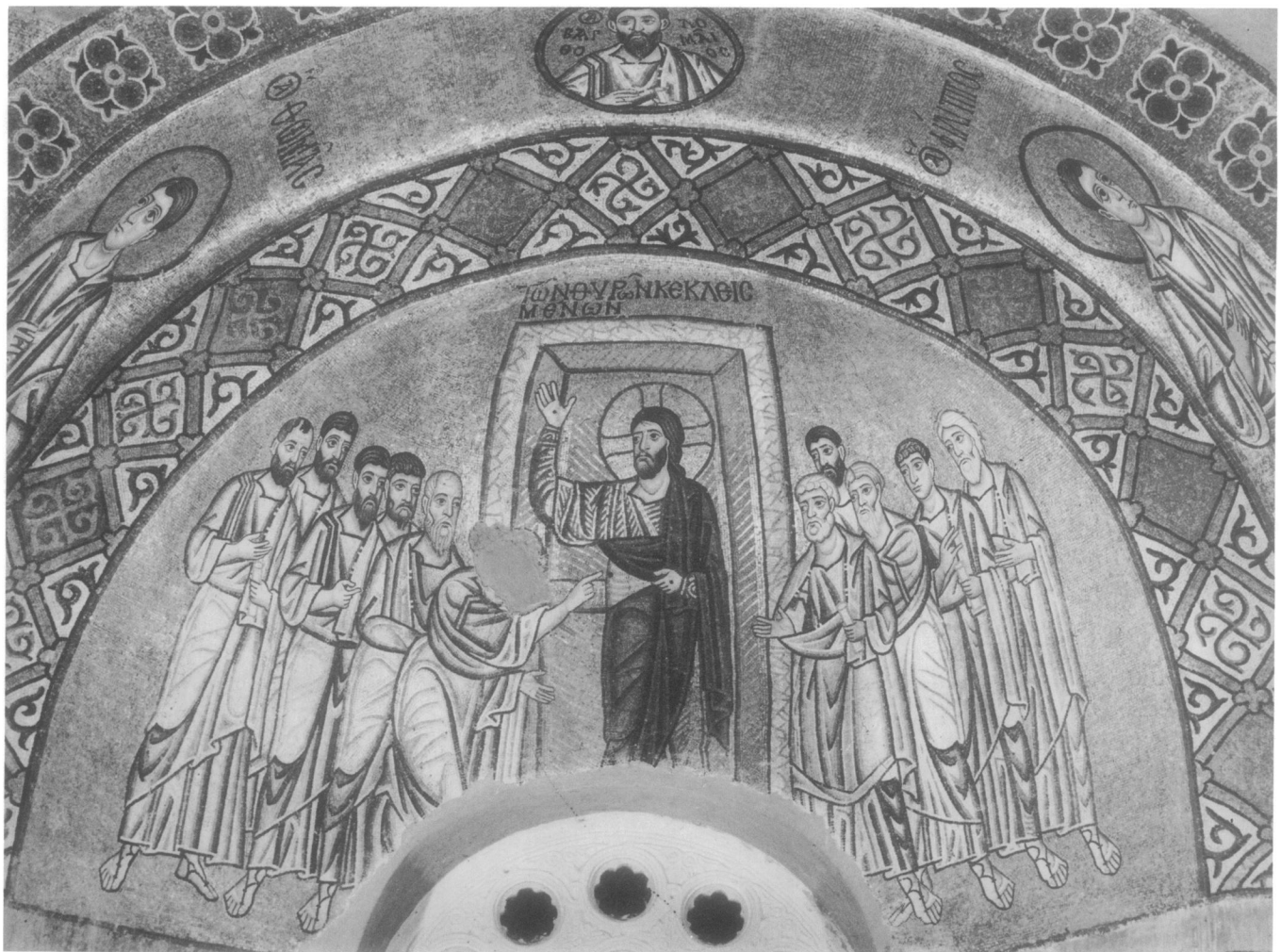


4. Hosios Loukas, Catholikon. St. Paul





5. Crypt. The Incredulity of Thomas



6. Katholikon. The Incredulity of Thomas

Hosios Loukas



7. Crypt. The Crucifixion



8. Catholikon. The Crucifixion

Hosios Loukas





9. The Pentecost, detail



10. Northwest Chapel. Archangel



11. Southwest Chapel. The Virgin Hodegetria

Hosios Loukas, Catholikon



12. Hosios Loukas, Catholikon, Southwest Chapel. St. Bacchos

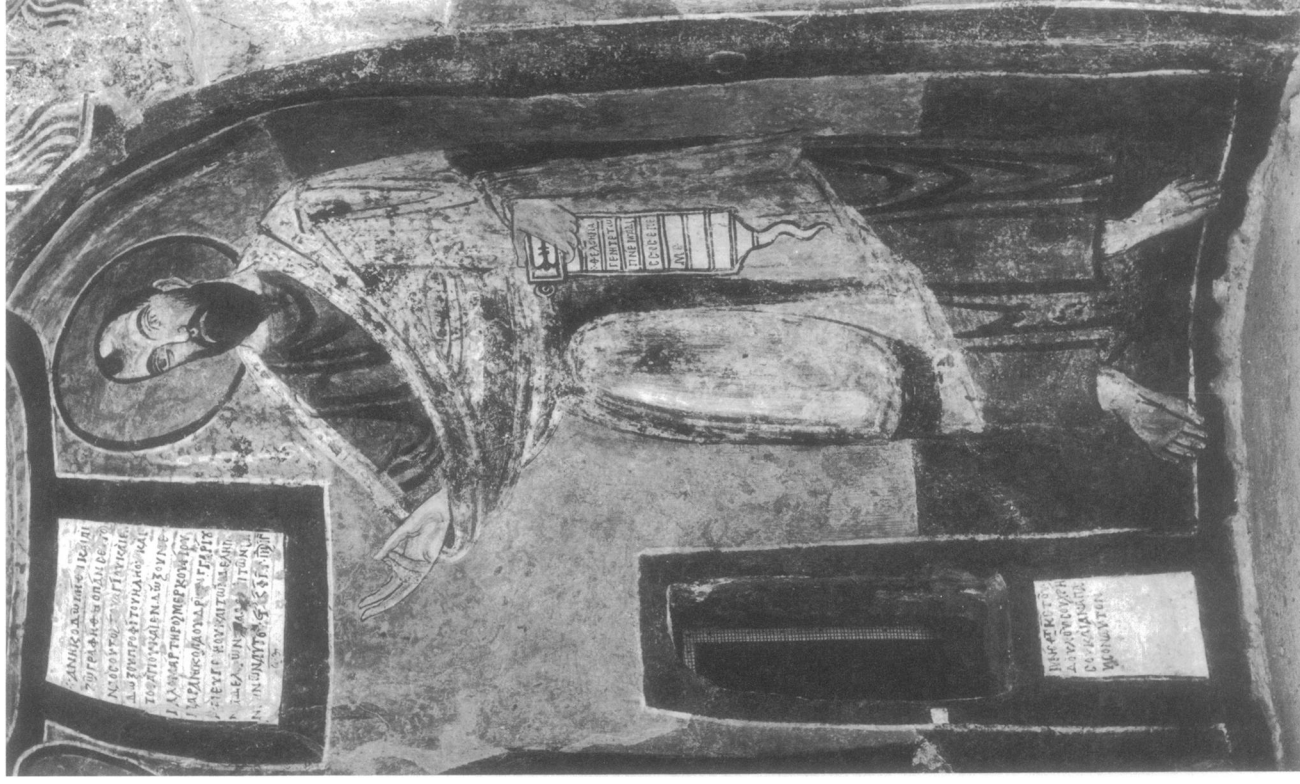


13. Evrytania, Episkopi. St. Theodoti





14. Hosios Loukas, Catholikon, Northwest Chapel.  
The Transfiguration, detail, St. Peter



15. Corfu, Church of St. Merkourios. Elisha



16. The Virgin



17. Moses and an Archangel  
Crete, Myriokephala

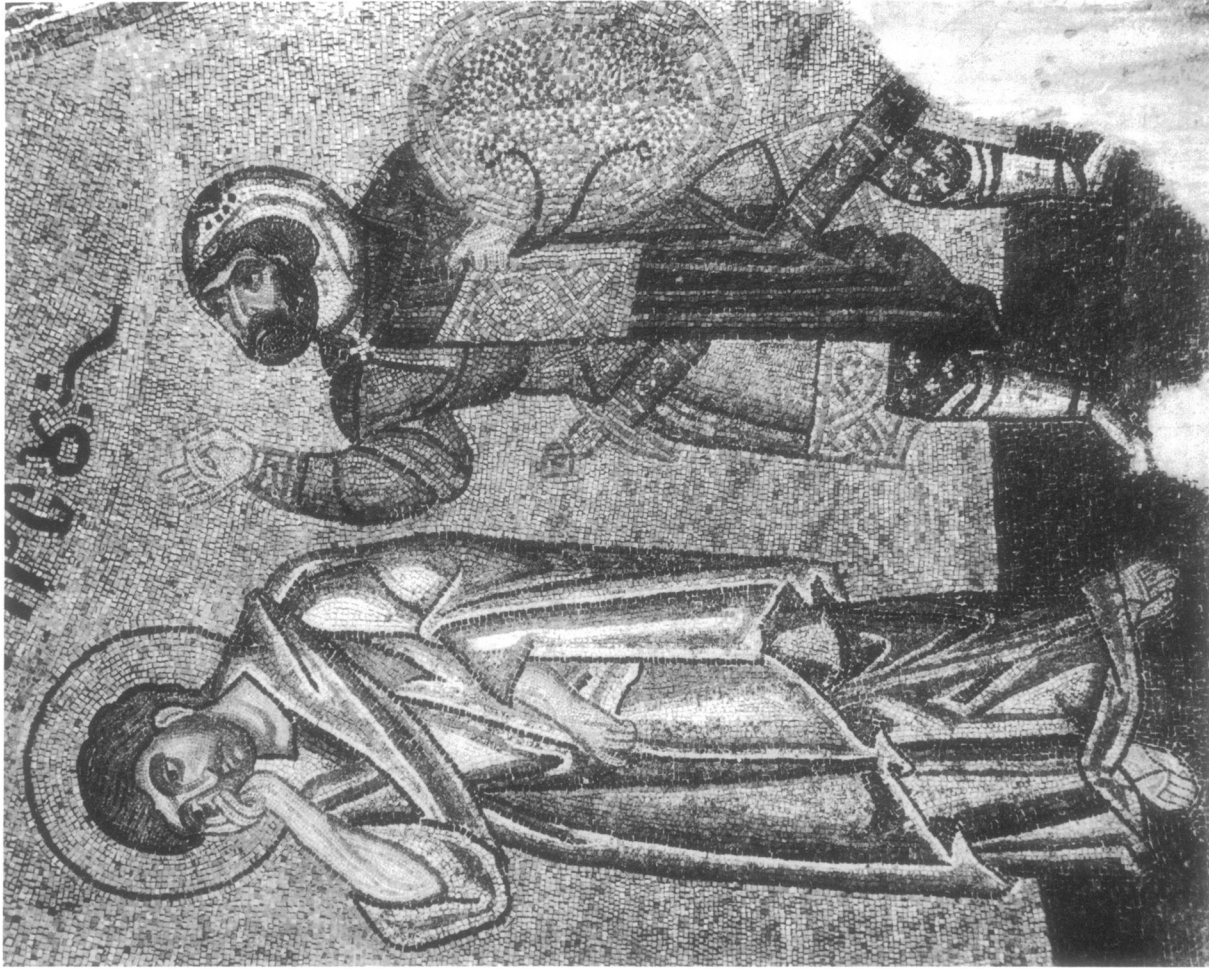


18. Archangel Michael



19. The Transfiguration, detail, John  
Chios, Nea Moni





20. The Crucifixion, detail, John and Longinus

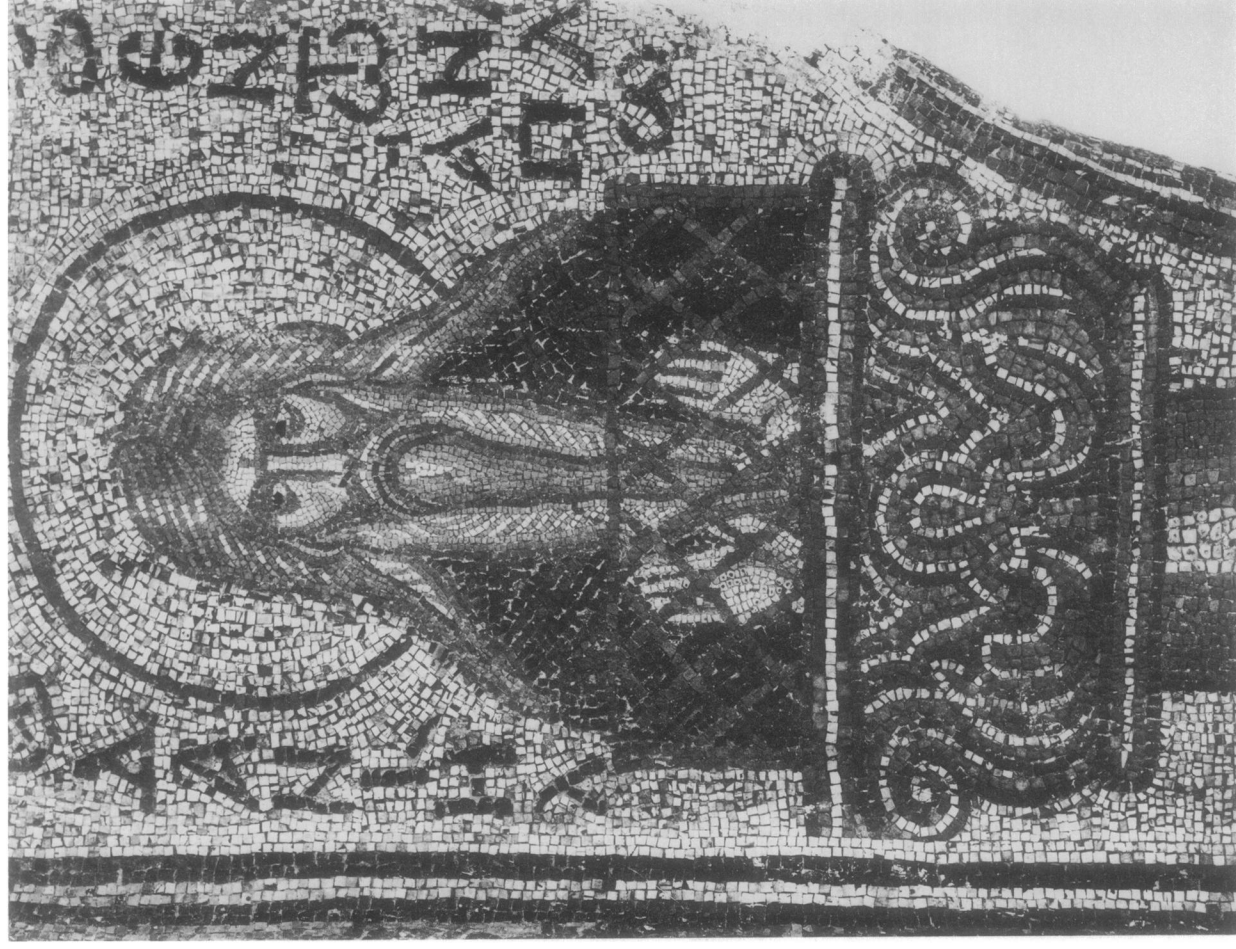


21. The Betrayal

Chios, Nea Moni



22. St. Anna



23. St. Daniel the Stylite

Chios, Nea Moni





24. Joseph



25. Symeon

Naxos, Chalki, Protothronos. The Presentation of Christ, details



26. Thessaloniki, St. Sophia. St. Euthymios



27. Chios, Nea Moni. The Prayer at Gethsemane, detail



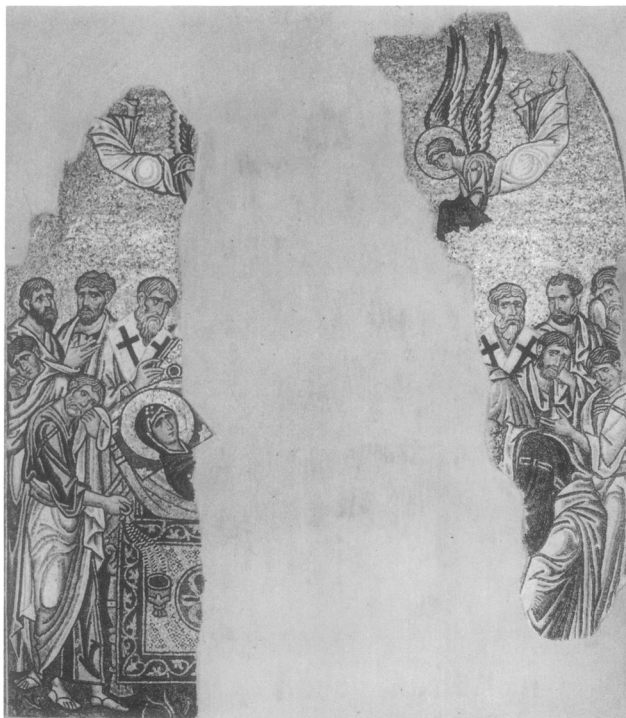
28. Isaiah



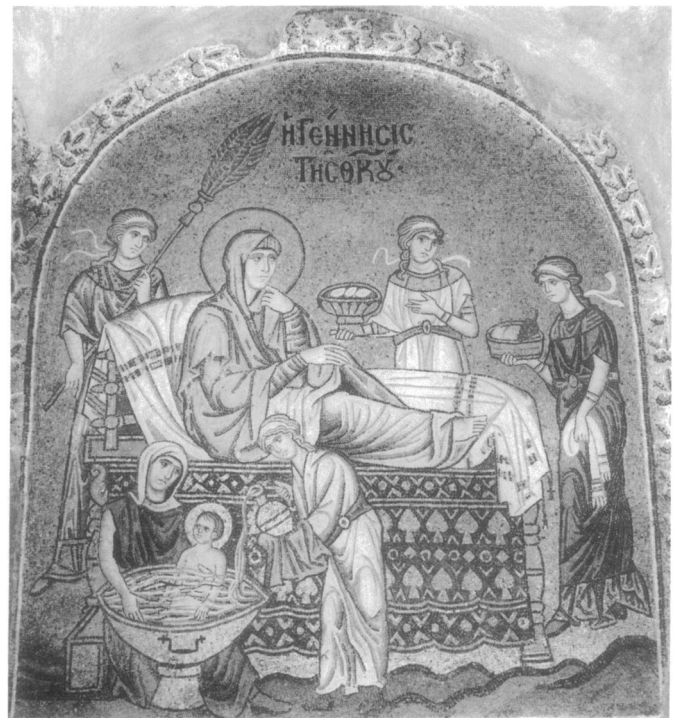
29. Moses



30. The Baptism



31. The Dormition of the Virgin



32. The Birth of the Virgin





33. Daphni. The Annunciation to Joachim



34. Thessaloniki, Rotunda. The Communion of the Apostles, detail, Andrew (from the Metropolis of Serrai)



35. Moses



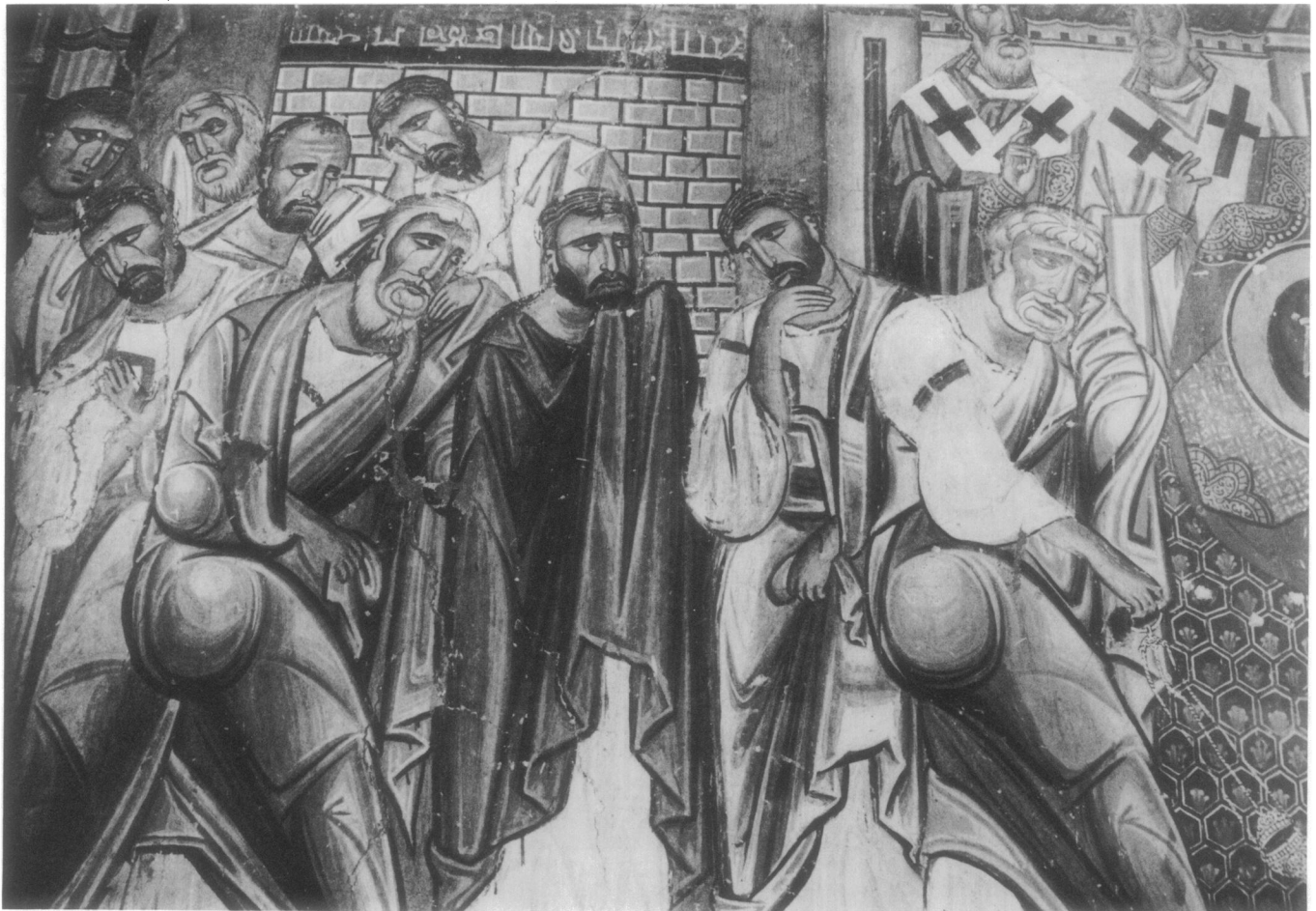
36. Ezekiel

Cyprus, Monastery of St. Chrysostom near Koutsovendis, Parecclesion of the Trinity





37. Cyprus, Asinou, Church of the Panagia Phorbiotissa. The Dormition of the Virgin



38. Kastoria, Mavriotissa. The Dormition of the Virgin, detail



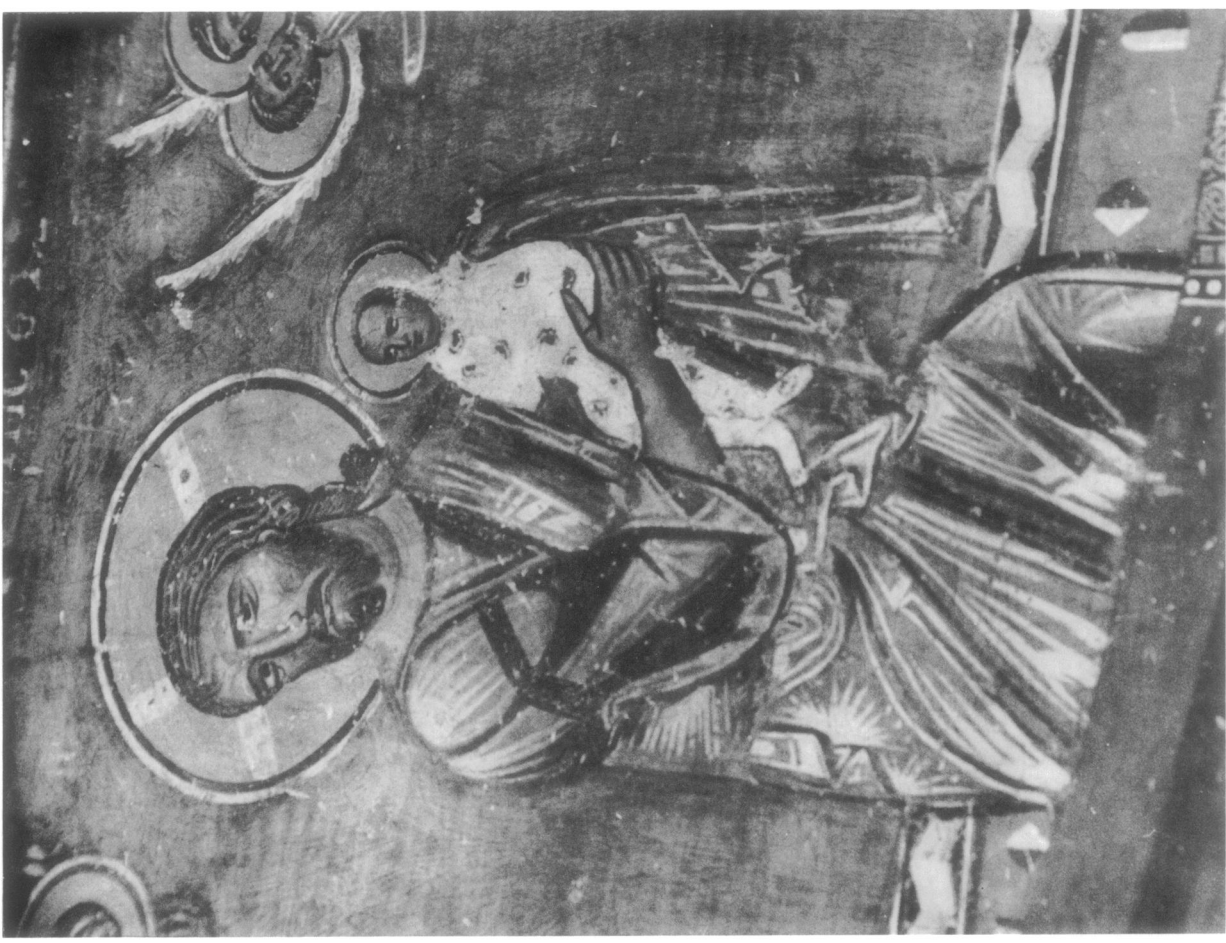
39. Cyprus, Asinou, Church of the Panaghia Phorbiotissa.  
The Dormition of the Virgin, detail



40. Kastoria, Mavriotissa. The Dormition of the Virgin, detail



41. Santorini, Episkopi. The Anastasis, detail, Christ



42. Kastoria, Mavriotissa. The Dormition of the Virgin, detail, Christ





43. Santorini, Episkopi. Saint



44. Kastoria, Mavriotissa. Saint



45. Pherrai, Kosmosoteira. St. Merkourios



46. Pherrai, Kosmosoteira. Prophet, detail





47. Prophet



48. Archangel

Pherrai, Kosmosoteira



49. Pherrai, Kosmosoteira.  
The Marys at the Tomb, detail, Angel



50. Chortiatiss, Church of the Savior. Saint



51. Bishop



52. St. John Chrysostom

Chortiatis, Church of the Savior



53. Chortiatis, Church of the Savior.  
The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple,  
detail, Joachim and Anna



54. Andros, Mesaria, Taxiarchai.  
The Ascension, detail, Angel



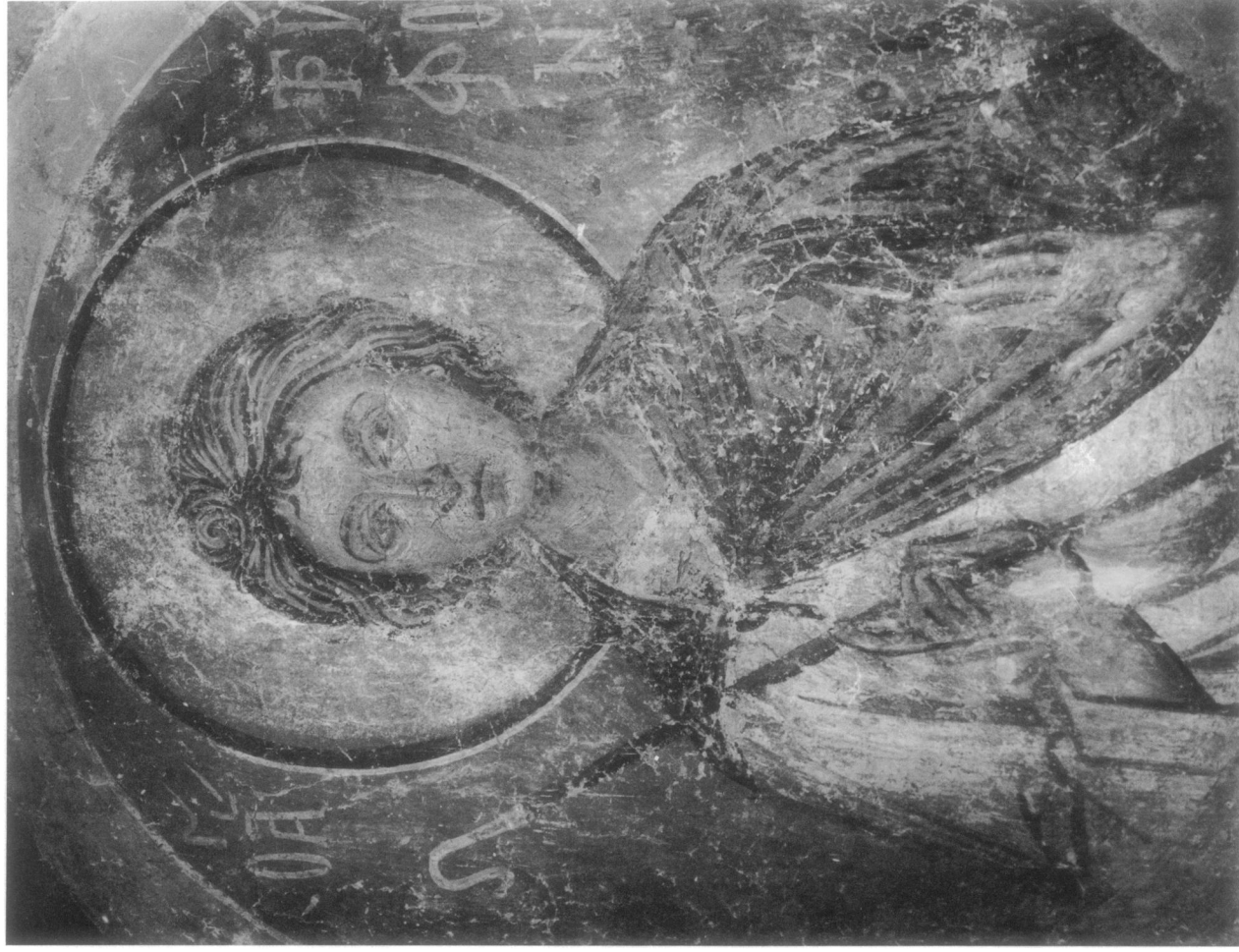
55.

Andros, Mesaria, Taxiarchai. The Ascension, details, Apostles

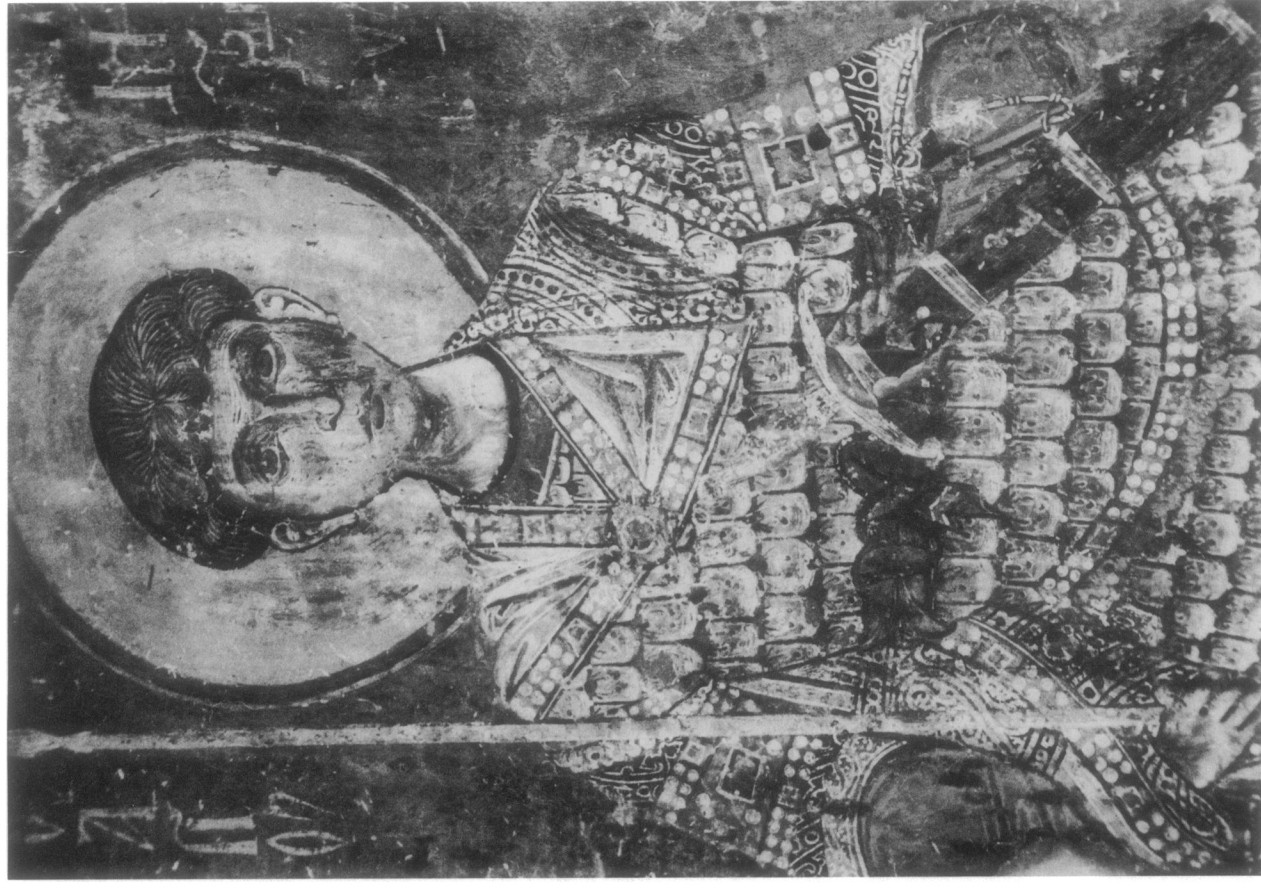


56.

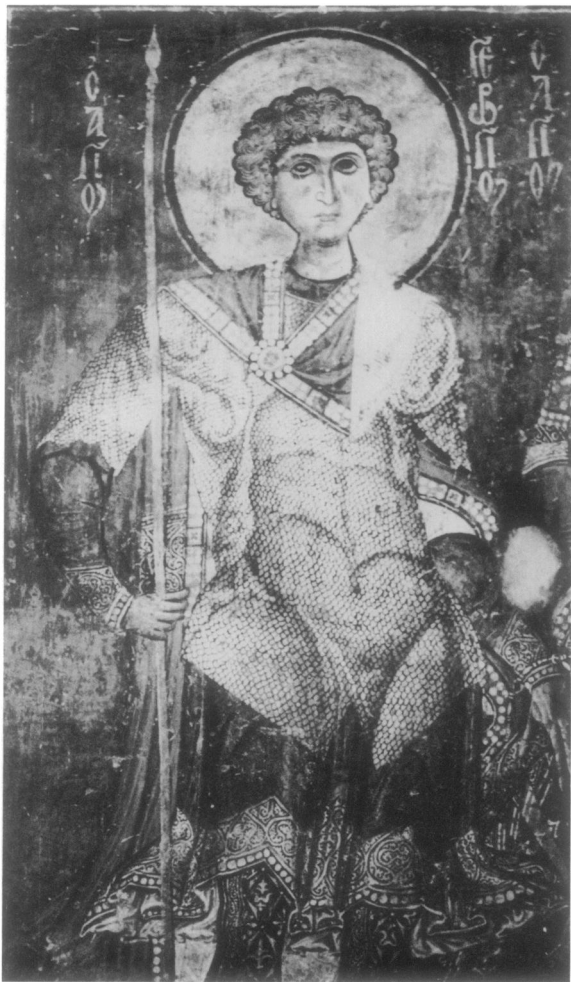




57. Nerezi, Church of St. Panteleimon. St. Tryphon



58. Kastoria, Hagioi Anargyroi. St. Demetrios, detail



59. Hagioi Anargyroi. St. George, detail



60. St. Nicholas of Kasnitzis. The Dormition, detail



61. St. Nicholas of Kasnitzis. The Transfiguration, detail, John  
Kastoria





62. Kastoria, Mavriotissa. The Baptism, detail



63. Megara, St. Hierotheos. Archangel Gabriel, detail



64. Cyprus, Paphos, Hermitage of St. Neophytos. The Anastasis, detail



65. Megara, St. Hierotheos. Archangel Gabriel



66. Megara, St. Hierotheos. Giil, detail





67. Megara, St. Hierotheos. Pantokrator



68. Cyprus, Lagoudera, Panaghia tou Arakou. Moses



69. Megara, St. Hierotheos. The Virgin



70. Cyprus, Lagoudera, Panaghia tou Arakou. The Ascension, detail, the Virgin



71. St. John the Evangelist



72. The Ascension, detail, Angel

Yeraki, Evangelistria





73. Yeraki, Evangelistria. The Ascension, detail, Apostles



74. Mani, Episkopi. The Ascension, detail, Apostles



75. Nerezi, St. Panteleimon. The Threnos, detail, John



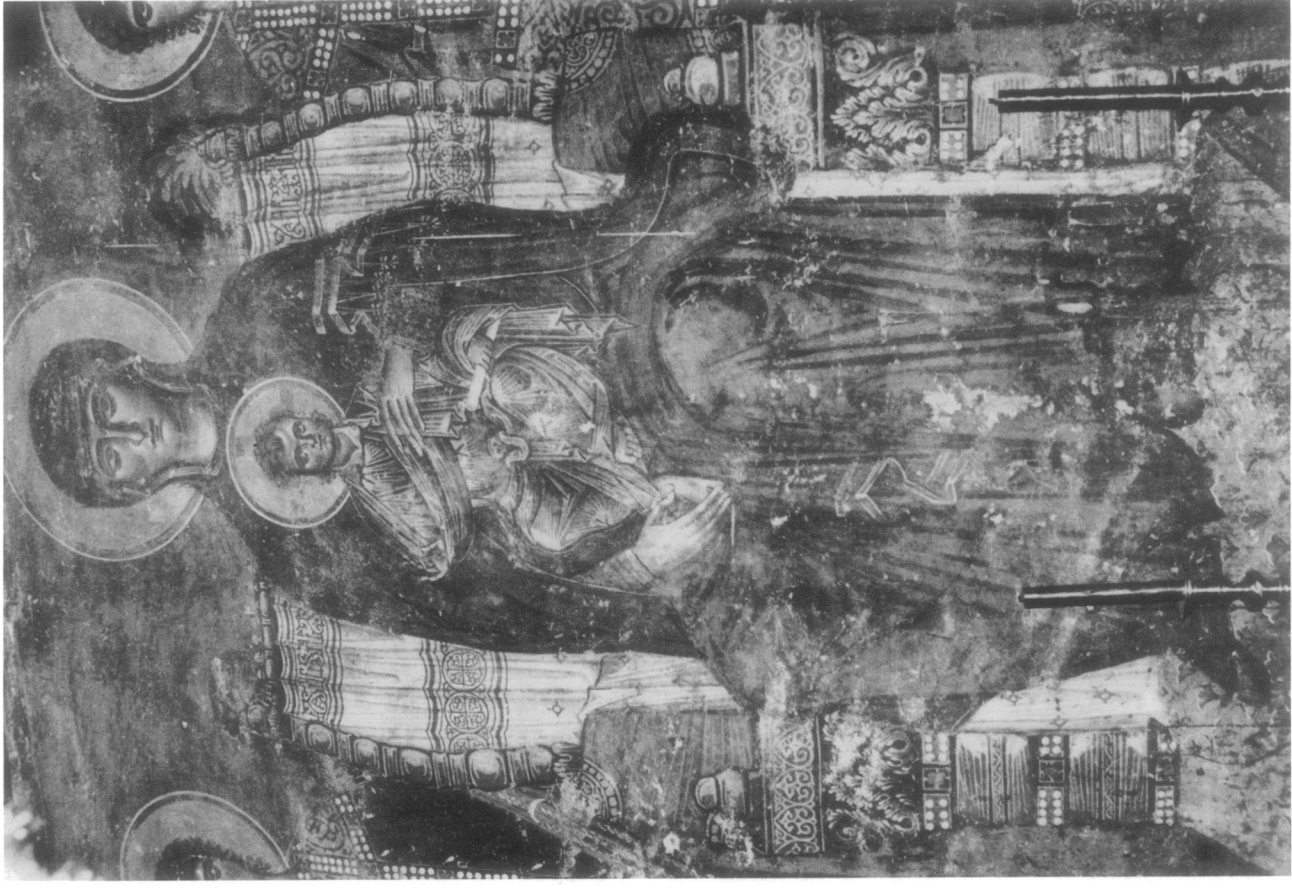
76. Megara, St. Hierotheos. Archangel





77. Christ with the Samaritan Woman, detail

Patmos, Monastery of St. John the Theologian, Chapel of the Virgin



78. The Virgin and Child

Patmos, Monastery of St. John the Theologian, Chapel of the Virgin



79. Chapel of the Virgin. Archangel, detail



80. Refectory. St. Hilarion (older layer)

Patmos, Monastery of St. John the Theologian



81. The Presentation of Christ, detail, Symeon



82. Prophet

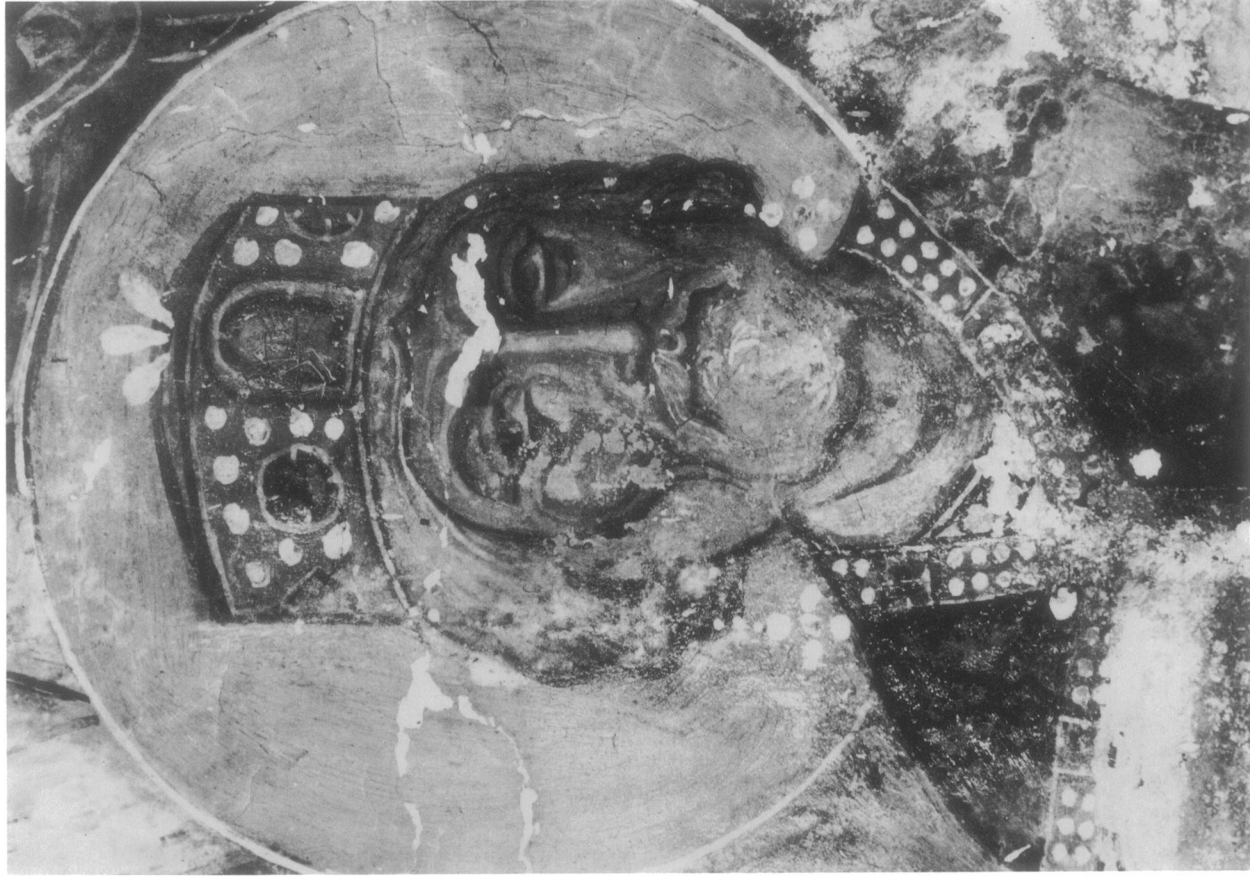
Androussa, Zoodochos Pigi (Samarina)





83. Bishop

Androussa, Zoodochos Pigi (Samarina)



84. The Anastasis, detail, David



85. Chalidou, St. Nicholas. Pantokrator



86. Kastoria, Hagioi Anargyroi.  
The Ascension, detail, Angel



87. Chalidou, St. Nicholas. Archangel Gabriel





88. Thessaloniki, Hosios David. The Nativity, detail, Joseph



89. Thessaloniki, Hosios David. The Baptism, detail, Angel



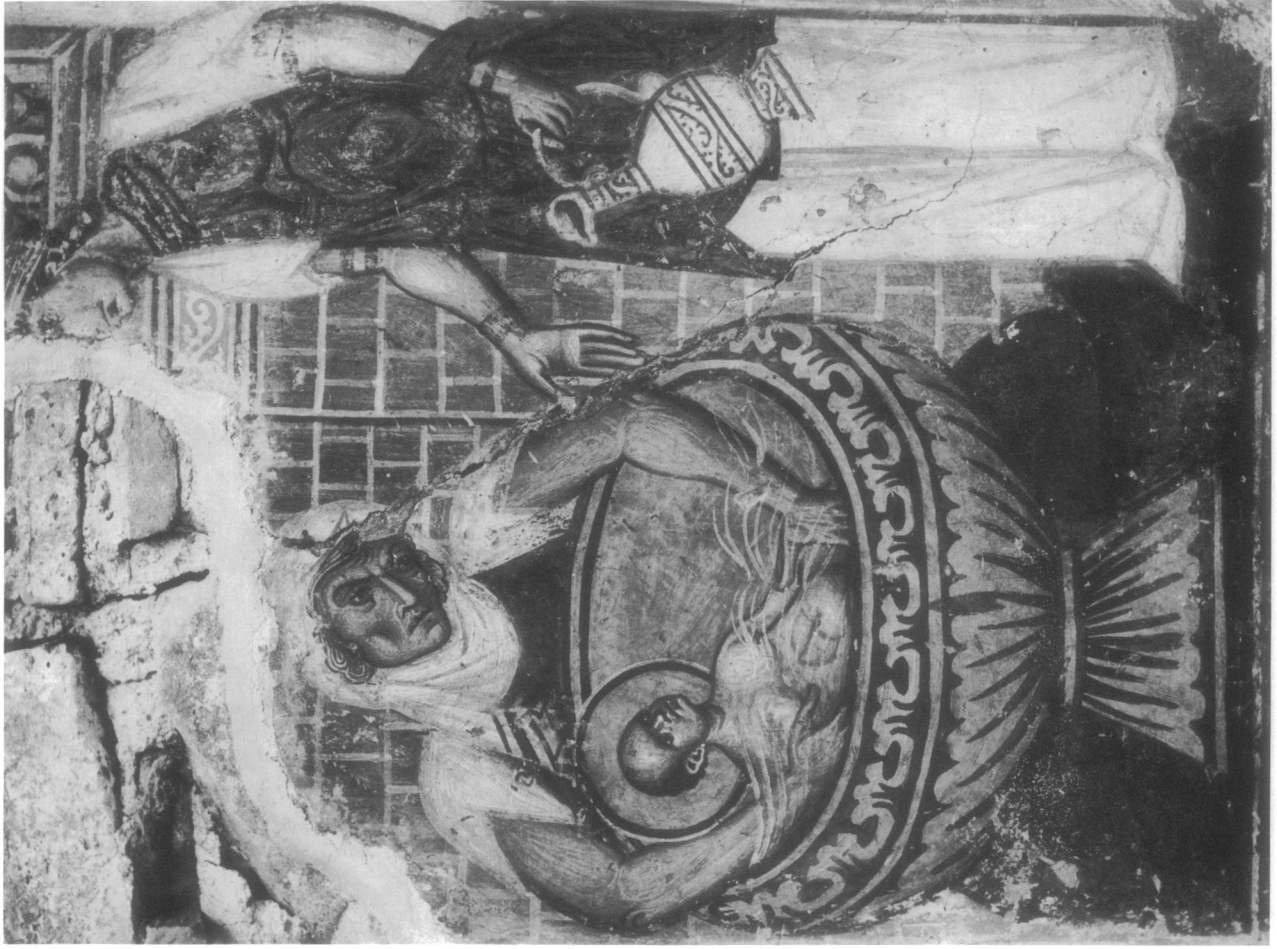
90. The Virgin



91. The Three Magi

Thessaloniki, Hosios David. The Nativity, details





92. Nerezi, St. Panteleimon. The Birth of the Virgin, detail

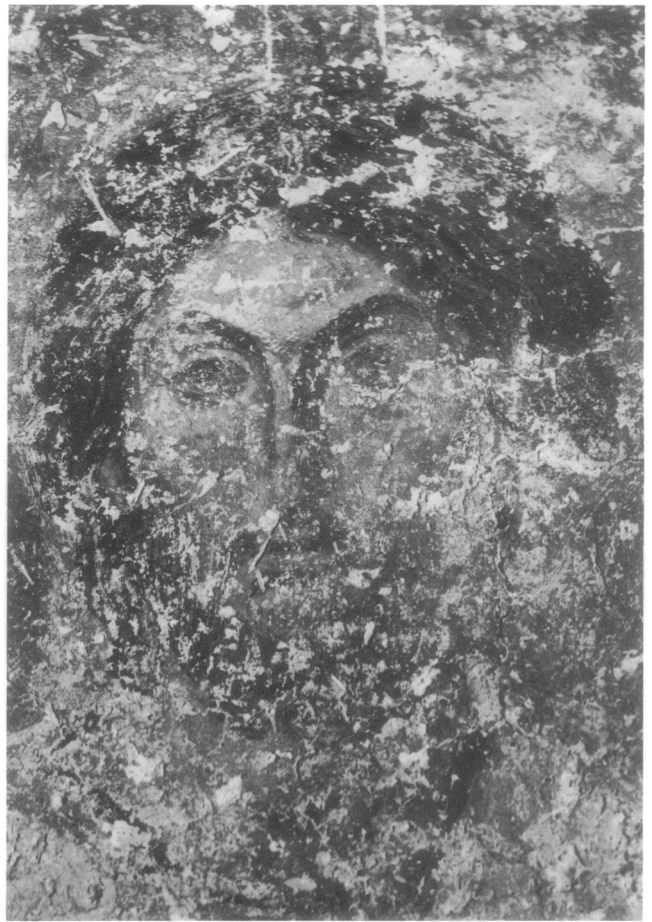


93. Thessaloniki, Hosios David. The Nativity, detail, Salome





94. The Nativity, detail, Angel



95. The Transfiguration, detail, Christ



96. The Baptism, detail  
Thessaloniki, Hosios David

even more artificial manner. The superficial treatment of the draperies does not take into consideration the structure of the body. Thus, the more schematized facial traits which convey a tormented expression, as well as the desiccated appearance of the body, impart to the Moses figure a very unclassical character.

A telling comparison involves the figure of the Virgin in the Cypriot monument (fig. 70), which differs greatly from the vigorous, healthy appearance of the same figure at Megara (fig. 69). These differences also speak for a chronological distance between the two works.

Another fresco decoration in Greece revealing the distinctive features of the style under discussion is found in the church of the Evangelistria in Yeraki in southern Peloponnese.<sup>111</sup> The seated figure of John the Evangelist (fig. 71) displays a mannered pose and excessive elaboration of the garments. The ripples of the hem of his chiton and the folds of his himation, which form a series of chevrons over the upper part of the body, together with the knot-shaped motif of the drapery under the right knee correspond to the conventions of the style under review. Compared to the figures of the fresco cycles already mentioned, the John figure at Yeraki betrays an increased schematization in the rendering of the draperies. Facial features are further removed from the classical norm, as are the garments which are rendered in a flat and ornamental fashion.

The frescoes of the Evangelistria lack the homogeneous quality that may be noticed in other examples of the same style. The eccentricities evident in the figure of John are not employed in the angel supporting the aureole of Christ in The Ascension (fig. 72). Notwithstanding an advanced stylization of the garments, which sheathe the body, the tendency here is toward a more classical and dignified representation. Likewise, in The Ascension (fig. 73), the broad, heavy bodies of the apostles with their small heads are even further removed from the mature phase of this decorative style. The harsh appearance of the draperies demonstrates an ignorance of their articulating function. All these features, together with an artificially moody quality in the facial expressions, indicate a later and more provincial interpretation. A date closer to 1200 for the frescoes of the Evangelistria seems possible.

The survival of the Byzantine "art nouveau" style may be perceived in another church in southern Peloponnese, the Episkopi in the Mani.<sup>112</sup> A comparison of the group of apostles in The Ascension of the Evangelistria with a similar group in the corresponding scene of the Episkopi (fig. 74) indicates an even more provincial version of this stylistic expression. The well-known mannerisms of this style, such as the "toothpaste" motif of the draperies, are used constantly. When compared to the figures of the Evangelistria, those of the Mani Episkopi violate even more conspicuously the classical norms. Tiny heads are combined with huge bodies and the draperies have lost their organic function. Linear surface patterns convey an

<sup>111</sup> Brief comments on the Evangelistria frescoes are found in D. Mouriki, *Αἱ διακοσμήσεις τῶν τρούλλων τῆς Εὐαγγελιστρίας καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Σώζοντος Γεράκιου*, in *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1971, *Chronica*, 1 ff.; E. Kounoupiotou, *Γεράκι: Συντήρησης τοιχογραφιῶν*, *Athens Annals of Archaeology*, 4, 2 (1971), figs. 4, 5, 8, 9; M. Panayotidi, "Les églises de Géraki et de Monemvasie," *Corsi Rav.*, 22 (1975), 336 ff.; Skawran, "Middle Byzantine Fresco Painting," 142 f., 286; Hadermann-Misguich, "La peinture monumentale tardo-comnène," 109 f.; Chatzidakis, "L'évolution de l'icone," 168, pl. xxviii.5 and 6.

<sup>112</sup> Drandakis, *op. cit.* (note 18 *supra*), 65 ff., pls. 62–74, 77b–89; Skawran, *op. cit.*, 150, 294 f. In both studies the frescoes are dated to the end of the twelfth century.

appearance of "wet" drapery, while the type of pigment used and the method of application give an impression of watercolor. The Episkopi frescoes can be dated to the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

As far as we can establish at present, the Megara decoration represents the mature stage in the evolution of the "art nouveau" style, while the Cypriot frescoes and those in southern Peloponnese are later in date. In fact, the basic ingredients of this style may be found in the wall paintings of Nerezi, which, as noted, also mark the starting point of the "dynamic" style. The flowing curves and the more detailed articulation of the drapery of the John figure in the scene of The Threnos (fig. 75) anticipate the development observed in the depiction of the Hierotheos angel (fig. 76). At Nerezi the distinct taste for beautiful faces and elegant poses is already apparent, as well as the decorative effect of the rhythmical arrangement of figures, drapery details, and colors. The life span of this "elegant" style in late Comnenian painting approximately coincided with that of the "dynamic" trend.

In miniature painting a group of illustrations in the Tetraevangelion 93 of the Athens National Library, datable to the late twelfth century, includes unmistakable features of the "art nouveau" trend.<sup>113</sup> Such features assert themselves more conspicuously in icon painting, of which the magnificent Annunciation icon from Sinai, whose extremely refined quality and courtly elegance indicate a Constantinopolitan origin,<sup>114</sup> provides the best example. The style of the icon, which has a more vigorous and classical appearance than the Lagoudera frescoes, may suggest a date slightly before 1190. A further specimen of this style among the Sinai icons is to be seen on an iconostasis beam,<sup>115</sup> where the scene of The Annunciation shares striking stylistic similarities with the decoration of the cupola at Megara. The elegant appearance of the figures and the rhythmical undulations of the draperies are features common to both, as is the youthful oval face of the Virgin. The two works are probably roughly contemporary.<sup>116</sup> Another icon from Sinai, representing The Miracle of the Archangel Michael at Chonae,<sup>117</sup> may be placed among the examples of the "elegant" manner in this medium. The archangel represents the idealized type of beauty reserved for figures in this style. His classical appearance and the flowing rhythm of his garments recall a similar approach in the Hierotheos frescoes.<sup>118</sup> The icon of the Miracle at Chonae may be placed close in date to the Megara frescoes and those of St. Neophytos. As already noted, the sensitive rendering of the faces, the elegant design, and the refinement of colors attribute this icon to a Constantinopolitan workshop.<sup>119</sup> The aesthetic standards of the "elegant" or "art nouveau" style are

<sup>113</sup> See E. Constantinides, "The Tetraevangelion Manuscript 93 of the Athens National Library," *Δελτ. Χριστ. Αρχ. Έτρ.*, ser. 4, vol. 9, 1977-78 (1979), esp. 211 ff.

<sup>114</sup> Weitzmann, "Eine spätkomnenische Verkündigungssikone" (note 83 *supra*), 299 ff.

<sup>115</sup> G. and M. Sotiriou, *Εκόνες τῆς Μονῆς Σινᾶ* (Athens, 1956-58), I, figs. 99-102; II, 10 ff.; Weitzmann, "Byzantium and the West," 58 ff., figs. 14, 17, 20, 22, 24, and 30. Two color illustrations may be found *idem*, "Island of Faith in the Sinai Wilderness," *National Geographic* (January, 1964), 118.

<sup>116</sup> Professor Weitzmann dates the Sinai beam slightly earlier than the Annunciation icon.

<sup>117</sup> G. and M. Sotiriou, *Εκόνες τῆς Μονῆς Σινᾶ*, I, fig. 65; II, 79 ff.; K. Weitzmann, *The Icon* (New York, 1978), 82, pl. 22.

<sup>118</sup> The special shieldlike formation of the drapery over Michael's left shoulder is a manneristic device also adopted for figures of the Sinai iconostasis beam, St. Hierotheos, and St. Neophytos: G. and M. Sotiriou, *Εκόνες τῆς Μονῆς Σινᾶ*, I, fig. 100; Mango and Hawkins, "The Hermitage of St. Neophytos," fig. 91. See also my fig. 64.

<sup>119</sup> Weitzmann, *The Icon*, 82.

suggested by these three works from Sinai. An icon from Cyprus, the well-known Christ of Lagoudera which is stylistically related to the frescoes of the same church,<sup>120</sup> may be included in this group.

The evidence provided by the above material also adds weight to the assumption of a Constantinopolitan origin for the "elegant" mode of painting,<sup>121</sup> especially since some of its basic ingredients are encountered in a *statu nascendi* at Nerezi. Moreover, the fact that this style was especially favored by the highest secular and monastic circles in Cyprus during the last decades of the century also points to Constantinople as the place of its origin. It is well documented that the island had been in continuous contact with the capital throughout the twelfth century.<sup>122</sup> The above observation can be illustrated by the frescoes at Lagoudera, which are the result of the initiative of Leo Authentis, and those in the Hermitage of St. Neophytos, connected with this great monastic figure of Cyprus. No information, however, is available regarding the donors of the Megara and Yeraki frescoes. It should be noted that the churches of Hierotheos at Megara and Evangelistria at Yeraki are not isolated examples of the artistic activity in these two cities and their vicinity. The two monuments are situated in fertile agricultural areas notable for their extensive olive groves. The wealth of these two locations may not be irrelevant to the high quality of their art, which also includes monumental painting of earlier and later periods. The total lack of pictorial material exemplifying these two styles in Constantinople obliges us to view the alleged metropolitan features of these trends through the extant provincial examples. It goes without saying that these works, some of which are of high artistic merit in their own right, would reflect to varying degrees metropolitan tendencies. The study of this material indicates that the examples of the "elegant" style in Cyprus, as well as in central and southern Greece, reflect metropolitan models more faithfully when compared with the provincial works of the "dynamic" style. The more satisfactory documentation regarding the Cypriot material and the generally refined and precious quality of the "art nouveau" products give further support to this hypothesis. By contrast, in terms of metropolitan developments we should be cautious as to the purism of the "dynamic" features of the Macedonian works previously analyzed. Artistic work in this northern area has throughout the Byzantine period manifested an inclination toward expressionistic exaggerations of the current stylistic and iconographic formulas. A further indication of the distortion of the metropolitan tradition in the north is provided by the work of the Nerezi master. The idealistic features of these paintings were eclipsed in the later Macedonian works. It would be arbitrary, however, to try to draw a sharp line between these two trends, which overlap not only in time but also in characteristic devices. The fact that the roots of both styles are found at Nerezi speaks for their interrelationship. The striking differences observed in monumental painting of the north and of the south in all probability give a dis-

<sup>120</sup> A. Papageorgiou, Εικὼν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Παναγίας τοῦ Ἀρακός, in Κυπρ. Σπουδ., 32 (1968), 45 ff.

<sup>121</sup> Kitzinger, *Monreale* (note 83 *supra*), 82; A. H. S. Megaw, "Twelfth Century Frescoes in Cyprus," *Actes du XII<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines, Ochride 1961*, III (Belgrade, 1964), 257 ff.; Weitzmann, "Eine spätkomnenische Verkündigungssikone," esp. 304 ff.

<sup>122</sup> See especially C. Mango, "Chypre, carrefour du monde byzantin," *XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines, Rapports et Co-rapports*, V, *Chypre dans le monde byzantin*, 7 ff.



torted picture of contemporary artistic realities in Constantinople. It can even be argued that the "dynamic" and "art nouveau" trends may have represented variants of the same style, or even the idioms of two different master painters whose personal styles lent themselves to later copying. The considerable differences noticeable in subsequent works, especially those by provincial artists of different temperament and background, may be attributed to the elaboration of a restricted number of formulas which varied according to local traditions.

The overlapping of late twelfth-century modes is best illustrated by a survey of a third stylistic development in late Comnenian painting, the so-called "monumental" trend. Its hallmarks are a new sense of monumentality and a quiet dignity, evidenced by the more classical appearance of the figures as well as the drastic elimination of the rich vocabulary of complex forms which were seen in the other two styles. These novel features initially appear in an even less consistent manner than the "dynamic" and "elegant" elements of the two earlier styles. A plurality of modes may be detected not only in the overall decoration, but also in individual compositions. In this case, however, it can be postulated that we are observing a typically *fin de siècle* phenomenon.

The combination of different styles in one monument can be well illustrated by the fine frescoes in the chapel of the Virgin on the south side of the catholikon and a few fragments of the older layer of paintings in the refectory of the monastery of St. John the Theologian on Patmos.<sup>123</sup> There is no documentary evidence regarding the date of the two groups. However, the iconographic program in the chapel of the Virgin may be associated with a particular abbot of the monastery. A conspicuous feature of this program is the inclusion of a large number of bishops not only in the bema but also on the north and south walls of the nave. Six of the bishops, who may be identified by inscriptions, are connected with Jerusalem.<sup>124</sup> This feature may support the hypothesis that the donor of the paintings was Leontios, patriarch of Jerusalem between 1176 and 1185/90. Leontios' tenure as abbot of the monastery lasted until 1183, during a period which coincided with his patriarchate.<sup>125</sup> This evidence, which seems to be corroborated by the style of the frescoes, places them around 1180.<sup>126</sup>

<sup>123</sup> For the frescoes, see A. C. Orlandos, "Fresques byzantines du Monastère de Patmos," *CahArch*, 12 (1962), 285 ff.; *idem*, 'Η ἐν Πάτμῳ Μονὴ Ἁγ. Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου (Ἡ Ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ καὶ αἱ Βυζαντινὰι τοιχογραφίαι τῆς), *Byzantine Art, an European Art. Lectures* (Athens, 1966), 68 ff.; *idem*, 'Η ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ καὶ αἱ βυζαντινὰι τοιχογραφίαι τῆς Μονῆς τοῦ Θεολόγου Πάτμου (Athens, 1970), 121 ff.

<sup>124</sup> The bishops of Jerusalem include St. James, the Brother of the Lord, first bishop of Jerusalem, prominently placed in the northeastern section of the chapel; four prelates on the north wall, including St. Salustios of Jerusalem (486–494), St. Makarios I of Jerusalem (314–333), and an anonymous bishop near whom only the designation "bishop of Jerusalem" is preserved; and Elijah I of Jerusalem (494–506). Of the four portraits of bishops on the south wall, one is completely destroyed and another is accompanied by the inscription Ἱεροσολύμων and the last four letters of his name, -λιος—either Praylios (417–422) or Juvenalios (422–458). See *ibid.*, 136 f., 158, 169, and pls. 5, 39, and 41.

<sup>125</sup> The association of the decoration of the Virgin's chapel with Leontios was first made by S. A. Papadopoulos, *Monastery of St. John the Theologian. Historical-Archaeological Guide* (Patmos, 1977), 38. For the personality of Leontios, see his *vita*, in Λόγοι Πανηγυρικοὶ ΙΔ' τοῦ πανιερωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Φιλαδελφείας . . . κυροῦ Μακαρίου τοῦ Χρυσοκεφάλου . . . Οἱ καὶ ἕτερα ἄττα προσετέθησαν, οἷον βίος τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Λεοντίου πατριάρχου Ἱεροσολύμων [Vienna, 1794], 380 ff. Cf. E. L. Vranoussi, Τὰ ἀγιολογικὰ κείμενα τοῦ Ὁσίου Χριστοδούλου. Φιλολογικὴ παράδοσις καὶ ἱστορικὰ μαρτυρία (Athens, 1966), 156 f.

<sup>126</sup> A. Orlandos dated the frescoes in the chapel of the Virgin between 1185 and 1190, and associated them with the initiative of Leontios' successor, Arsenios, abbot of the monastery between 1183 and 1207. Moreover, he dated the earlier layer of frescoes in the refectory to the beginning of the thirteenth century: Ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ καὶ βυζαντινὰι τοιχογραφίαι Μονῆς Θεολόγου, 267 f.

Although the entire decoration of the chapel of the Virgin represents an integrated aesthetic unit, the scenic representations and the portraits reveal different stylistic modes. A detail of the scene of Christ and the Samaritan Woman (fig. 77) on the northern half of the barrel vault of the bema exhibits a dry, archaizing manner which is difficult to relate to either of the two styles of late Comnenian painting discussed above. The drawn features of the faces, the flat draperies with their economic use of vertical folds, and the unrealistic rendering of the hill in the background recall the style of the Sicilian mosaics of the mid-twelfth century. Other scenes, such as The Hospitality of Abraham on the east wall of the bema, display some typical elements of the "dynamic" style. On the other hand, the depiction of The Virgin and Child (fig. 78) on the same wall reveals a different approach. The majestic figure of the Virgin is characterized by a new spirit of monumentality and classicism. This can also be observed in the soft modeling of the faces (fig. 79) and the ample handling of the draperies. The group of the Virgin holding the Child with escorting archangels is heavily indebted to the tradition of imperial iconography. The aristocratic character of these paintings is indicated by the pose of the Virgin and the refined and rhythmical manner in which the Virgin, Child, and archangels are compositionally linked by their gestures, glances, and colors. The Virgin's throne is embellished with ornamental motifs of antique derivation.

The constant connection of the abbots of Patmos with Constantinople,<sup>127</sup> as well as the ample means of a patriarch of Jerusalem who certainly had visited the capital,<sup>128</sup> may well suggest a metropolitan origin for these frescoes. With a date of *ca.* 1180, the paintings of Patmos may represent one of the earliest examples of the "monumental" style, the third important development of late Comnenian painting.

Apart from the frescoes in the chapel of the Virgin, several monastic portraits from the older layer of painting in the refectory of the monastery of Patmos reveal a truly outstanding quality. The abrupt turn of the head of St. Hilarion (fig. 80) increases the animated and expressive quality of this portrait. As in the Macedonian churches, an elaborate system of highlights is evident. However, unlike the mechanical treatment of this feature in the examples in the north, where it forms a surface pattern, in this case it has been applied in a far more organic and integrated manner. The refectory frescoes share the high artistic quality of the more accomplished work in the chapel of the Virgin, and may be considered as belonging to the same period.

Monumental tendencies in fresco painting of the late twelfth century become a widespread phenomenon. The relevant monuments are dispersed throughout the Byzantine Empire, as well as in areas outside its frontiers. In many cases, their location and the identity of the donors imply a connection with stylistic developments in major centers. In particular, the frescoes of St. Demetrios in Vladimir in Russia, securely dated around 1195, have been discussed frequently in connection with the "monumental" style in late Comnenian painting.<sup>129</sup>

<sup>127</sup> Vranoussi, 'Αγιολογικά κείμενα 'Οσίου Χριστοδούλου, 105.

<sup>128</sup> *Idem*, Πατμιακά-Γ'. 'Ο καθηγούμενος τῆς Μονῆς Πάτμου 'Ιωσήφ 'Ιλαίτης καὶ ἡ ἀρχαιότερη ἀναγραφὴ χειρογράφων τῆς μονῆς, in Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ., ser. 4, vol. 4, 1964–65 (1966), 347 note 5; *idem*, 'Αγιολογικά κείμενα 'Οσίου Χριστοδούλου, 105 note 2.

<sup>129</sup> Lazarev, *Storia*, 201f., 256 note 61 (with older bibliography); V. Plugin, *Frescoes of St. Demetrius' Cathedral* (Leningrad, 1974); E. Bakalova, *Bačkovskata kostnica* (Sofia, 1977), *passim*. Elements of the "mo-

Greece possesses a number of fresco cycles which clearly reveal the new development. The pivotal character of the "monumental" style is often apparent. The adherence to older Comnenian formulas, as well as the introduction of a new spirit of moderation and monumentality, can be observed in the frescoes of the church of the Zoodochos Pigi (Samarina) near Androussa in Messenia.<sup>130</sup> Symeon in The Presentation of Christ (fig. 81) is one of the more traditional figures in the program. The refined quality of the face and the excessive linearism recall the corresponding figure in the same scene at Nerezi. The pathos indicated by the contracted features and the concentration of the glance constitutes a further affinity with the Symeon figure at Nerezi. Notwithstanding these similarities, the psychological characterization of the face at Samarina is less conventional and the forms more ample and painterly than at Nerezi.

A softer modeling technique can be seen in many other figures of the Samarina program. A characteristic example is provided by one of the bishops' portraits in the diaconikon (fig. 83). The mild, open face with its regular features radiating a serene dignity recalls certain faces in the frescoes of Vladimir. One of the prophets in the dome also reveals a painterly approach to the modeling and a progression in the understanding of human emotion (fig. 82). Such characteristics, as well as the monumentality of the figure evidenced by its scale, broad shoulders, and statuesque appearance, again point to a new spirit in Byzantine painting. The affective element in the characterization of faces may also be observed in the David figure of The Anastasis (fig. 84). The soft, broad modeling and a new norm for facial types are further characteristics of this fresco. The miniaturelike approach of late Comnenian painting has been replaced by a monumental rendering in this church.

Traditional and progressive features coexist in the entire decoration of Samarina. In many cases figures are slender and two-dimensional. Landscape and architectural elements, moreover, play a secondary role in the compositions and do not help to create a feeling of space. The movement of the figures is restricted to a minimum, and the dramatic play of light and dark is totally absent. Noticeable also are the symmetrical arrangement of the iconographic program and the balance of the pictorial elements of the scenes. Finally, broad, painterly modeling and restrained human emotion illustrate the truly progressive character of these frescoes.

The frescoes of the Samarina church can be dated on the basis of stylistic comparisons with the Vladimir paintings of ca. 1195.<sup>131</sup> From this evidence the decoration in the sanctuary and the nave, in particular, may be placed close to the turn of the twelfth century. The refined technique of these frescoes may point to a

"monumental" trend are detectable, moreover, in the frescoes of Vardzia in Georgia, which, on the evidence of the Bagratids' portraits included in the decoration, should be dated between 1184 and 1186. See Š. Amiranašvili, *Istorijska gruzinskogo iskusstva* (Moscow, 1963), 220ff., pls. 94-95; G. Gaprindašvili, *Vardzia* (Leningrad, 1975); Djurić, "La peinture murale byzantine" (note 72 *supra*), 235f.

<sup>130</sup> M. G. Sotiriou, "Η πρώτη παλαιολόγειος ἀναγέννησις εἰς τὰς χώρας καὶ τὰς νήσους τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατὰ τὸν 13ον αἰῶνα, in Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ., ser. 4, vol. 4, 1964-65, p. 259ff., pls. 48-52; H. Grigoriadou-Cabagnols, "Le décor peint de l'église de Samari en Messénie," *CahArch*, 20 (1970), 177ff., figs. 1-10, 12-14; Skawran, "Middle Byzantine Fresco Painting," 137ff., 282f.; K. Kalokyris, Βυζαντινὰ ἑκκλησιαστικὰ τῆς Ἑρῶς Μητροπόλεως Μεσσηνίας (Thessaloniki, 1973), 49ff. The frescoes are in a very poor state of preservation.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. Sotiriou, "Η πρώτη παλαιολόγειος ἀναγέννησις," 260; Grigoriadou-Cabagnols, *op. cit.*, 190. Maria Sotiriou was the first scholar to point out the outstanding quality of these frescoes.

metropolitan origin. By contrast, the wall paintings in the narthex are somewhat inferior in quality and probably a little later in date than those in the main church.<sup>132</sup> In view of the total absence of documentary evidence concerning the church of Samarina it is impossible to formulate valid hypotheses regarding its donors. Nevertheless, the sophisticated architecture and sculptural decoration of the church, combined with the remarkable quality of the paintings, testify to the presence of a metropolitan artist in this provincial area of the southern Peloponnese.

An example of the "monumental" trend in Attica is provided by the small church of St. Nicholas in Chalidou,<sup>133</sup> where only the poorly preserved cupola decoration is still visible. It includes a bust of the Pantokrator surrounded by a zone containing medallions with the Virgin, the Hetoimasia of the Throne, and four angels, as well as two tetramorphs, two seraphim, and several thrones. In the drum a few fragments of prophets are discernible.

The Pantokrator (fig. 85) is imposing in appearance, enhanced by the full, simple forms of the garments. The severe symmetry of the figure and the rather broad face with regular features and a sorrowful expression anticipate developments of the thirteenth century. The same applies to the Archangel Gabriel flanking the Virgin in the dome (fig. 87). The figure has a manly, broad-featured face with large eyes, a resolute expression, and an unusually strong jaw, which set it apart from the ethereal, overly graceful, and mannerist angels of the "dynamic" and "art nouveau" trends. A dating in the last quarter of the twelfth century may be suggested for these frescoes.

The "monumental" style can be considered a reaction to the impasse which had been reached by the end of the Comnenian period. This may help to explain why this approach coexists with the two earlier trends in certain monuments. A further group of frescoes which exemplifies this dualism is that of the Anargyroi church in Kastoria, where some of the extreme manifestations of the "dynamic" style have already been considered. One painter who worked only in the narthex employed this new "monumental" style, which is apparent in the scene of The Ascension (fig. 86).<sup>134</sup>

At Hosios David, the catholikon of the monastery tou Latomou in Thessaloniki, two scenes epitomize the new "monumental" tendencies of the turn of the twelfth century. The preserved decoration at Hosios David consists of two Dodekaorton scenes, The Nativity and The Baptism, which occupy the eastern and western halves of the south barrel vault, respectively. There are also fragments of The Presentation of Christ on the west wall, below the scene of The Baptism. The entire head of the Christ figure in the scene of The Transfiguration, which existed on the tympanum of the south barrel vault,<sup>135</sup> is now lost.

<sup>132</sup> In addition to a smaller scale, which is partly due to the restricted architectural surfaces of the narthex, the paintings here reveal a different color scheme, a more summary treatment, and a considerable departure from the classicism of the frescoes in the main church. Some of the apostles in The Pentecost recall, in particular, several apostles in the scene of The Last Judgment at the Episkopi in the Mani.

<sup>133</sup> C. Bouras, A. Kaloyeropoulou, and R. Andreadi, *Churches of Attica*, 2nd ed. (Athens, 1970), 233, figs. 201–2. This cupola decoration, which has suffered seriously from fire, was recently cleaned by the Archaeological Service.

<sup>134</sup> See *supra*, p. 109.

<sup>135</sup> The frescoes were cleaned in 1973. The head of Christ from The Transfiguration and a detail of the personification of Jordan from The Baptism were photographed in 1932. The information that the head of



In the scene of The Nativity, the elderly Joseph (fig. 88) is one of the most accomplished figures of this group. The rippling folds of his himation beneath the curve of his thigh relate him to the mannerist conventions of the late twelfth century.<sup>136</sup> Moreover, the frail quality of the figure, enhanced by a complex system of highlights, recalls a typically late Comnenian approach. The portraitlike appearance of the face, however, with its convincing pathos and the antique pose indicate a renewed perception of the classical tradition. Such figures can be found also at Nerezi.<sup>137</sup> A further feature in common with the frescoes at Nerezi is the rhythmical integration of the Joseph figure into the landscape. This is indicated by the soft, undulating contours of the hill echoing the form of his body. Compared to the empty, masklike quality of the faces at Nerezi, the face of Joseph at Hosios David has a dynamic, forceful expression which points to a meaningful difference between the two monuments. The same holds true for the faces of the three Magi at Hosios David (fig. 91), which reveal a deep psychological characterization.

Some more detailed comparisons between the frescoes of Hosios David and those of Nerezi may provide indications for the dating of the Thessalonikan paintings. Especially close iconographic and stylistic affinities relate the figures in The Bathing of the Christ Child at Hosios David with figures in the scene of The Birth of the Virgin at Nerezi (fig. 92). The facial type and the way the scarf is wrapped around the neck of the seated midwife in the bathing episode of both scenes is similar. Moreover, the young Salome at Hosios David (fig. 93) wears the same black bracelets and her left shoulder is articulated in the same bizarre manner as that of one of the female visitors in The Birth of the Virgin at Nerezi.<sup>138</sup> Salome and a female figure in the Birth scene also have direct contact with the beholder.<sup>139</sup> However, the girl at Hosios David possesses a fresh immediacy lacking in the scene at Nerezi; in the former church she holds the towel as if it had real substance. Her function in the scene is thus made more organic, as opposed to the almost decorative presence of the maiden at Nerezi. A last significant comparison concerns the Christ Child, who at Hosios David has assumed Herculean proportions and looks almost Palaeologan, while in the Birth scene at Nerezi it has minuscule proportions. In fact, in the Thessalonikan fresco a much more monumental approach, combined with a sense of immediacy, creates out of an ordinary narrative episode a meaningful composition. There is an extraordinary feeling of space and atmosphere. By contrast, everything looks small and compressed at Nerezi. The rendering of the landscape and the relation of the figures to it reveal the progressive character

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Christ (fig. 95) belonged to the scene of The Transfiguration was communicated to me by the late Professor Xyngopoulos, who briefly mentioned the frescoes in his study of the church and its mosaic. See A. Xyngopoulos, *Τὸ καθεολικὸν τῆς Μονῆς Λατόμου ἐν Θεσσαλονίκη καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ ψηφιδωτόν*, in *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, 12 (1929), 142ff. The recent work of cleaning and restoring the frescoes of Hosios David was done by the restorer F. Zachariou. E. Tsigaridas presented the paintings in oral communications at the Archaeological Society in 1974 and at the Athens International Congress in 1976; see *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, 28, 2, 2 (1973), *Chronica*, 495, pl. 459b.

<sup>136</sup> Cf. Kitzinger, *Monreale* (note 83 *supra*), 75, fig. 18, pls. 7, 30, 33, etc.

<sup>137</sup> Tsigaridas proposed a dating in the third quarter of the twelfth century for the Hosios David frescoes. A similar view is expressed by Djurić, "La peinture murale byzantine" (note 72 *supra*), 16, 18.

<sup>138</sup> Grabar, *La peinture byzantine* (note 29 *supra*), pl. on p. 145.

<sup>139</sup> K. Eller and D. Wolf, *Mosaiken, Fresken, Miniaturen* (Munich, 1967), pl. 8.

of the frescoes at Hosios David. The hills are more naturalistic in shape and color than those at Nerezi, and the same is true of the plants which enliven the landscape. No other painted decoration in the twelfth century—the frescoes of Nerezi included—conveys to such a large degree an outdoor atmosphere.

Other figures in The Nativity of Hosios David reveal a very painterly approach. An angel (fig. 94) is almost entirely modeled in light and color. By its gentle mood this figure recalls some of the more noble figures at Nerezi. A preference for a graceful face evokes the feeling of the painted decorations of the Byzantine “art nouveau” style.

An equally progressive figure at Hosios David is the Virgin in The Nativity (fig. 90). She is characterized by her relaxed, horizontal position, the plastic quality of her body, and the tender, human expression on the softly modeled face. The noble simplicity of the pose and the humanizing languor anticipate works of the monumental style of the first half of the thirteenth century, particularly the frescoes of Studenica of 1209, and, even more, those at Mileševo of around 1235.

In The Baptism the pivotal character of the paintings at Hosios David is also revealed (figs. 89, 96). There is a conservative approach apparent in the two-dimensional figure of the Baptist and in the flat, exaggerated modeling of his face with a heart-shaped pattern on the cheek. On the other hand, figures like the angel on the right bank of the river (fig. 89) and the personification of Jordan, if they were taken out of context, would be very difficult to date to this period. The portrayal of Jordan makes most of the Byzantine aquatic personifications look lifeless and doll-like. In size, in the articulation of the body, and in the characterization of the face this figure, which reflects a Poseidon type, retains something of the personifications of the Macedonian Renaissance. However, the modeling of the body and the farouche expression of the face predict the epic character of the monumental style of the thirteenth century.

The angel on the right bank of Jordan is undoubtedly the most impressive of the fresco figures preserved at Hosios David and illustrates the sophisticated avant-garde quality of these frescoes. The figure also possesses some striking features of the “dynamic” style, as seen in the sweeping movement of the cascading draperies. Moreover, the bulkiness of the body and especially the way in which the folds are shaped over the thigh to emphasize its volume have no parallel among the pictorial material of the late twelfth century. The angel is rendered in a surprisingly naturalistic manner, as if the painter had made use of a live model. A comparison of the Hosios David angel with related figures in the mosaics of Monreale, one of the monumental decorations of the period possessing a most vigorous style, reveals the revolutionary character of the paintings under discussion. Although the Sicilian mosaics often include three-dimensional figures in a spatial setting, they look almost flat and lifeless next to the superb angel in the church of Thessaloniki. The angels in The Baptism at Monreale provide a good example for comparison.<sup>140</sup> The two works are further differentiated by the modeling technique. At Hosios David soft gradations of luminous colors model the figures, while in

<sup>140</sup> Kitzinger, *Monreale*, pl. 47.

Monreale harsh juxtapositions of dark shadows and pure white highlights are noticeable.

The painterly quality of *The Baptism at Hosios David* is intensified by the illusionistic rendering of the landscape, in which the rocky crags of the river bank shift in color as they recede in depth, thus creating a startling impression of space and atmosphere. As was the case with *The Nativity*, *The Baptism* scene combines two main features: a painterly approach with no parallel in monumental painting of the period, and a renewed perception of the classical tradition. The robust figure of the personification of Jordan and the organic rendering of Christ illustrate this aspect. Christ's oval face, with its regular features and serene expression, strikes a fresh note in the pictorial material of the Macedonian monuments reviewed so far.

A last telling example of the Hosios David frescoes is represented by the head of Christ from the scene of *The Transfiguration* (fig. 95). Christ's face reveals both a highly idealized and a naturalistic rendering. The monumentality of the whole figure may be discerned in the broad head with its strong features.

The frescoes of Hosios David are difficult to date. Although reminiscent of both the "dynamic" and "art nouveau" styles, these paintings express a severe and critical denial of the calligraphic, playful conventions of late Comnenian art. In addition, there is nothing of the desiccation which characterizes works that endlessly copy the same formulas. In fact, the epic grandeur of the compositions and a liberation of the figures in space distinguish these frescoes. There is a freshness in this material, which implies that it stands at the beginning of a new stylistic development that will find its ultimate fulfillment at Sopoćani. It is basically the stylistic features deriving from the older Comnenian tradition that would indicate a date around the turn of the twelfth century, or slightly later.

The style of the frescoes of Hosios David epitomizes some of the basic characteristics of the Nerezi tradition, the dynamic elements of a specific trend in late Comnenian painting, and a search for monumental effects, all combined with a revolutionary painterly technique. The painterly approach seems to be reserved especially for the fresco decorations of the "monumental" style in the art of the period. It should be pointed out, however, that this particular modeling technique characterizes not only monumental painting but also icons, as exemplified by the "iconostasis beam of the three masters" on Sinai, published by Professor Weitzmann.<sup>141</sup>

The question of the origin of the "monumental" style and of the artist who executed the frescoes at Hosios David is all the more intriguing because it is in Thessaloniki that we are confronted with a major work. The second capital of the Byzantine Empire has been considered by some scholars as the birthplace of a number of stylistic developments during the medieval period.<sup>142</sup> A work of such exceptional quality could well have been produced in Thessaloniki, a city with a brilliant

<sup>141</sup> Weitzmann, "Byzantium and the West" (note 105 *supra*), 59ff., figs. 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, and 23. For color reproductions, see K. Weitzmann et al., *A Treasury of Icons* (New York, 1966), pl. 35; *idem*, "Mount Sinai's Holy Treasures," *National Geographic* (January 1964), pl. on p. 118.

<sup>142</sup> See especially A. Xyngopoulos, *Thessalonique et la peinture macédonienne* (Athens, 1955), *passim*.

cultural tradition. The presence of frescoes of such high quality in the catholikon tou Latomou, one of the most venerated churches in the city,<sup>143</sup> can be explained. The prestige enjoyed in the neighboring areas<sup>144</sup> by the Early Christian mosaic in the apse of the church reveals the important status of the monastery. This would have encouraged any ecclesiastical or secular authority to recruit the best artist available for the decoration of the church. Such observations, however, cannot contradict the assumption that the frescoes of Hosios David reflect current artistic developments in Constantinople.

The metropolitan origin of the "monumental" style does not need special justification. The "dynamic" and "art nouveau" elements in late Comnenian painting had reached a state of decadence which would necessitate the creation of a new stylistic development. This new trend found its basic ingredients in the classical heritage, indicating the flexibility of Constantinopolitan art, which was capable of revitalizing itself through the inexhaustible sources of Hellenism. It can be stressed that at approximately the time when the frescoes of Lagoudera were produced a new Byzantine style broke drastically with the older tradition. The frescoes of Hosios David, because of the pivotal character of their style, acquire a pioneering role in terms of the stylistic developments in thirteenth-century monumental painting, thus providing one of the crucial missing links. A discovery like this may indicate that the new monumental style of the thirteenth century was born in the critical years before the fall of the capital of the Empire to the Crusaders.

A survey of the principal monuments of twelfth-century Greece leads to two main conclusions. First, the decoration of churches of modest scale, with very few exceptions, is usually connected with the initiative of individuals, probably government officials or prosperous members of the local society, or monastic communities. The original function of the painted churches is not always clear. It is difficult to decide in each case whether they served as parish churches, private commemorative churches, or as catholika of small monasteries, either privately owned or under the charge of a charisticarios. An answer to this question could be facilitated by field work, especially in the case of churches situated in towns. In many instances the funerary function of some of these twelfth-century churches may be implied by the presence of tombs,<sup>145</sup> as is also indicated by their modest scale. Thus, we note a different approach from the eleventh century, which was connected with the creation of large monastic establishments, as has already been indicated. A second conclusion is that twelfth-century monumental painting in Greece is of a generally high quality and, in most cases, reflects the latest stylistic developments of the period. The refinement shared by these monumental decorations is even more impressive when one takes into account the diversity of patronage and the wide geographic distribution of the material. The predominantly homogeneous and highly polished artistic expression of the

<sup>143</sup> See Janin, *op. cit.* (note 49 *supra*), 392 ff.

<sup>144</sup> Cf. A. Grabar, *La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie* (Paris, 1928), 80, pl. III; A. Xyngopoulos, "Sur l'icone bilatérale de Poganovo," *CahArch*, 12 (1962), 341 ff.

<sup>145</sup> Research on this problem has still to be done with regard to the churches of this period. For instance, in the church of Chortiatia a funerary plaque with the name of Michael Asan Palaeologos may imply the use of the church for burials since an earlier period. This plaque will be published by G. Velenis.



twelfth century is in contrast to the strongly diversified approaches in the monumental painting of the eleventh century in Greece. This phenomenon, which certainly is not confined to the monuments of Greece only, still needs clarification. Another point still requiring consideration concerns the disproportionately high quantity of pictorial material in the second half and particularly the last quarter of the twelfth century. Notwithstanding the probability that some of the monuments from the earlier period may have been destroyed or have not yet been discovered, the remarkable artistic activity during the latter part of the twelfth century can hardly be unrelated to the social and economic developments of the period, especially the increasing number and power of landowning families just before the Latin occupation.<sup>146</sup> Conversely, one must not neglect the probable relevance also, as recent evidence has made clear, of the growing power of bishoprics in Greece during this period.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> See G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1957), 348 ff.

<sup>147</sup> See J. Herrin, "Realities of Byzantine Provincial Government: Hellas and Peloponnesos, 1180-1205," *DOP*, 29 (1975), 255 ff.